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THE ASIATIC REVIEW

JULY, 1944

PROCEEDINGS OF THE EAST INDIA ASSOCIATION

EDUCATIONAL RECONSTRUCTION IN INDIA

BY JOHN SARGENT, C.I.E.

(Educational Adviser to the Government of India)

I MUCH appreciate the honour of being invited to address the East India Association. The diffidence with which I always speak in public is increased on this occasion by the fact that I shall be expressing rather dogmatic opinions in the presence of many people who know a great deal more about India than I do. My gratification at the honour done me is further enhanced, but my nervousness is in no way diminished, by the fact that Mr. Butler occupies the chair this afternoon. While we are still only talking about educational reforms in India, you, sir, have been acting, and I should like to pay my tribute to the educational vision and parliamentary skill which have enabled you not only to overcome obstacles which many of us, before the war, would have regarded as insurmountable, but also with almost universal approval to enlarge the whole conception of the State's duty towards its future citizens.

I am going to begin with a question. Is it necessary for the future welfare of (a) India herself, (b) the British Commonwealth of Nations, if India remains a member of it, and (c) the world at large, that India should be provided as soon as possible with a national system of education and the other social services which are enjoyed by the so-called civilized countries? Or, to put it in a slightly different way, what is there about India which makes it undesirable, or unnecessary, or impracticable, that she should set her feet on the path which not merely Western nations, but Russia and Turkey and China have deliberately decided to follow?

This is a question which I imagine a great many people must ask themselves very soon after they set foot in India. Some of them, myself included, have gone on asking it ever since. One need not travel far in an Indian train today to hear it asked in one form or another by members of the Allied Forces, and particularly by those who are young enough or optimistic enough to believe that the Atlantic Charter means something and that humanity, after the two lessons it has had in the past thirty years, will at last make a real effort to put its house in order. It is no exaggeration to say that these fighting men appear to be gravely perturbed, if not shocked, at the contrast between Indian social conditions and those to which they have been accustomed in their own countries. They all seem to feel—and I must say I share their feeling—that if we are really going to hand India over to the Indians in the near future, we ought, for our own credit if for no other reason, to hand it over as a going concern. It can hardly be so described at any rate in the educational field.

THE PRESENT SYSTEM

I have no desire whatever to exaggerate the dark side of the picture, and the last thing that I should wish to do would be to belittle in any way the efforts and the achievements of those who, in the face of every kind of difficulty and discouragement, have striven to give the young people of India the educational opportunities which boys and girls in other countries enjoy. There are good schools and colleges in India;

there are efficient and devoted teachers; there are research institutions which will bear comparison with any elsewhere. Indian scholars, particularly in the sciences, have made and are making notable contributions to the sum of human knowledge. It would not be difficult to plan an educational tour (I have been guilty of doing it myself more than once) which would send the casual visitor away with the impression that there is not much wrong with Indian education. But how remote such an impression would be from the actual facts I hope to show before I have done. I do not expect, however, that there is anyone in this room, whether he or she has any first-hand knowledge of India or not, who would be prepared to get up and say that the present system of education is satisfactory, or that it is the best which we could have been expected to provide after 150 years in the country. I need not therefore waste your time by attempting to traverse in any detail the criticisms which have been made by almost every expert who has examined it during the last 50 years. This is hardly the time either for post-mortems or for pessimism.

Most of us are looking forward to a better world in one sense or another, and even in India, unless I am hopelessly mistaken, there is a stirring of the waters which may even spread in time to the highly ornamental ones in front of the Secretariat in New Delhi. Last year the Reconstruction Committee of the Viceroy's Executive Council invited the Central Advisory Board of Education to submit a plan for post-war educational development. That plan has now been prepared, and in the time at my disposal I want to try and tell you something about it. In so doing, I may be able to show by actual facts rather than by opinions, however authoritative, how far the existing educational facilities in India fall short of what most modern nations regard as necessary for the training of their future citizens.

THE CENTRAL ADVISORY BOARD

I ought, first of all, to speak of the Central Advisory Board, because it is important that its competence to diagnose India's educational needs and to prescribe the best way of satisfying them should be clearly established. It was first set up rather more than 20 years ago, when, with education becoming a provincial subject, the need for some authoritative body to guide and co-ordinate educational policy in the country as a whole was becoming apparent. Those who know the past attitude of the powers that be towards education will not be surprised that it was one of the first victims upon which the economy axe fell a few years later. It was, however, revived in 1935. Its present membership is as follows:

The Member of the Viceroy's Executive Council in charge of the Department of Education, Health and Lands is *ex-officio* Chairman. Each Province is represented by its Minister of Education, if there is one, or by an Adviser if there is not, as well as by the Director of Public Instruction. The Council of State elects one representative and the Legislative Assembly two. Three members are nominated by the Inter-University Board, which contains all the Vice-Chancellors. In addition 10 members are nominated by the Government of India. Hitherto no specific representation has been given to the Indian States, although it has always been the practice to include among the Central Government's nominees at least two persons closely associated with the States. The late Sir Akbar Hydari served for several years, and at the present time the Prime Minister of Jaipur, Sir Mirza Ismail, and the Dewan of Baroda, Sir V. T. Krishnamachari, are members. It is now proposed to give the States five members. Among the other nominated members are two ladies (the number is to be increased to four this year), three prominent business men, together with Dr. Sir A. F. Rahman, a former Vice-Chancellor of Dacca University and an ex-member of the Federal Public Service Commission, the Bishop of Lahore, and Sir Maurice Gwyer, ex-Chief Justice of India and now Vice-Chancellor of Delhi University. I am an *ex-officio* member of the Board and all its committees, and my deputy, Dr. Dhiren Sen, is its secretary. (Of the total membership of 40, 28 at present are Indians and 12 British.)

In the expectation that sooner or later a serious attempt would have to be made to tackle the problem of providing India with a system of education approximating to those available in other countries, the members of the Central Advisory Board have devoted their attention in recent years to surveying the main fields of educational

activity with a view to ascertaining what would be the minimum provision required. Since their reconstitution in 1935 they have set up committees to study and report upon the following, among other subjects :

- (1) Basic Education (two reports).
- (2) Adult Education.
- (3) The Physical Welfare of School Children.
- (4) School Buildings.
- (5) Social Service.
- (6) The Recruitment, Training and Conditions of Service of Teachers in Primary, Middle and High Schools.
- (7) The Recruitment of Education Officers.
- (8) Technical (including Commercial and Art) Education.

THE RECONSTRUCTION REPORT

At their last two meetings they have reviewed the recommendations of these committees, with special reference to post-war needs, and the results have been embodied in the Report for the Reconstruction Committee, with which I am attempting to deal today. The aim of this Report is not to prescribe an ideal system of public instruction, but to outline the minimum programme of development which will place India on an approximate educational level with other countries. With this object in view it lays down certain essential requirements, which I have italicized and will state in order.

1. *Universal compulsory and free education for all boys and girls between the ages of six and fourteen in order to ensure literacy and the minimum preparation for citizenship.*

In British India there are about 56 million children between these ages. The latest figures available show that as things now are two out of nine of the children in this age group are attending some kind of school. Of those that do enter the doors of a school, more than half have disappeared by the end of their first year and less than one in four stays long enough to reach the earliest stage—namely, class 4—at which permanent literacy is likely to be attained. I will leave you to calculate for yourselves what proportion of the total expenditure on primary and middle education may be regarded as entirely wasted. In the light of these figures it is almost surprising that the percentage of illiteracy among the whole population of India is not higher than 85.

Apart, however, from the factor of wastage, which could of course be removed if an effective compulsory system were introduced, there is a still more serious matter which militates against the efficiency of the instruction. In any country and in any circumstances, the standard of a school is determined by the standard of the teaching. There has always been in India and elsewhere, and it may be hoped there always will be, a number of people who enter the teaching profession because they like teaching or because they regard it in the light of a vocation, but such people unfortunately will never constitute more than a very tiny part of the vast army of teachers which a national system requires. The remainder will have to be attracted into the profession by reasonable prospects and conditions of service. For basic—i.e., primary and middle—schools alone, when fully established, about 1,800,000 teachers will be needed. Since the average pay of a primary teacher in Government schools in India is about Rs. 27 (£2 os. 6d.) per mensem and in private schools is actually much lower (in one of the largest Provinces the average is below Rs. 10 per mensem), it can hardly be said that the teaching service in India is likely to attract the sort of people who ought to be in charge of the nation's most valuable asset—namely, its children—during its most malleable stage. What the Board propose to do about this I will explain later on.

2. *A reasonable provision of education before the age of six in the form of nursery schools and classes.*

This is important mainly in the interest of health, particularly in areas where housing conditions are unsatisfactory. The Board propose that provision should be made for one million places in nursery schools and classes. Partly owing to expense and partly owing to the dearth of trained women teachers, who alone should be in

charge of children at this tender age, facilities of this kind are practically non-existent in India today.

3. *Secondary or high-school education for those who show the capacity for benefiting by it.*

It is difficult to be precise about the amount and nature of the provision which should be made at this stage. Needs will vary from place to place. In the Board's opinion, provision should be made ultimately in high schools of various types for not less than 20 per cent. of the boys and girls in each age group. On this basis and with a six years' course, this means providing high-school places for just over seven million boys and girls. For these, 360,000 teachers will be required. It should be made clear that this is the minimum provision, and that if any Province or area wants more high-school accommodation there is nothing in the Board's scheme which would prevent it. What, however, is essential is to secure the utmost variety both in types of school and in the curricula of individual schools in order to suit the varying tastes and aptitudes of the individual pupils on the one hand and the requirements of their future occupations on the other. In addition, so that no boy or girl may be debarred by poverty from further education, liberal financial assistance in the form of free places, scholarships and stipends must be forthcoming.

It is difficult to estimate how many boys and girls are at present receiving a secondary education. Probably the number does not exceed a million. Although a few interesting experiments have recently been started in the way of high schools with a technical or agricultural bias, the average high school follows a stereotyped academic curriculum usually dominated by examination or university requirements. The main criterion for admission is not the capacity or promise of the pupils, but the ability of their parents to pay the fees.

4. *University education, including an adequate provision of post-graduate and research facilities for picked students.*

Here, again, it is by no means easy to decide how many places should be provided. Probably, when the new high-school system has been fully established, about 1 pupil in 15 will be found fit to proceed to a university, apart from those who go on to senior technical institutions, training schools and other places for further education. This means roughly doubling the number of students in universities at the moment. I do not propose to repeat the criticisms of Indian universities which are so often made, sometimes by people who do not appreciate the difficulties, financial and otherwise, under which they are working. Nor do I wish to overlook their many admirable features. At the same time, it would appear to be true that Indian universities do not make any serious attempt to relate their output to the needs of the community, that their examination system does not encourage original thinking and real scholarship, and that their general organization does not secure that close personal contact between students and teachers from which the greatest benefits of university life are usually derived. The conception of a university as an Alma Mater in the literal sense of the word, to whom affection and loyalty are owed, is limited to comparatively few.

5. *Technical, commercial and art education.*

The amount, type and location of this will necessarily be determined to a large extent by the requirements of industry and commerce. The provision in this respect has hitherto been restricted partly by the limited number of openings in industry and commerce, and still more by the fact that it has been the practice to fill many of the better openings that are available by imported technicians. It is reasonable to expect that a very considerable development in this branch of education will be called for in the post-war period. It has already been given an impulse in the right direction by the war-training schemes now in operation.

The Board are agreed that the higher stages of technical education must be organized and administered on an all-India basis, and with this object in view they have advocated the early establishment of an All-India Council for Technical Education.

6. *Adult education, both vocational and non-vocational of all kinds and standards, to meet the needs of those who were denied adequate opportunities in their earlier years or recognize the importance of supplementing what they then received.*

As already stated, at least 85 per cent. of the population of India is illiterate. We can hardly afford to wait until illiteracy is liquidated by the gradual spread of com-

pulsory education among boys and girls. The Board have accordingly prepared a plan for making literate all persons below the age of 40 in a period of twenty-five years.

7. *The training of teachers.*

Over two million additional teachers will be required for a national system of education, and 42 per cent. of the existing teachers are untrained. The Board hold, I think with reason, that every teacher ought to be trained, and adequate arrangements for training and for keeping teachers up to date after they have been trained are an essential preliminary to the introduction of a national system.

8. *An efficient school medical service, which will see that children are made healthy and kept healthy.*

This means treatment as well as inspection, and the provision of proper nourishment in necessitous cases. It is a waste of time and money to try to teach a child who is unfit or conscious in other ways of serious physical discomfort. Health also postulates the provision of hygienic buildings in suitable surroundings, the right kind of furniture and equipment, and ample facilities for physical training and games.

Sporadic attempts have been made from time to time in different parts of India to provide the nucleus of such a service. This has usually confined itself, for reasons of economy, to inspection only. The main result has been the collection of statistics. It is hardly necessary to point out that inspection without treatment is of little value, particularly in a country where the great majority of parents are unwilling or unable to act on any medical advice they may receive.

Courageous attempts have also been made to supply nourishment for the children most in need of it, but again, owing to lack of funds, these attempts have been on far too small a scale to do more than touch the fringe of a problem which is extremely serious, when the homes from which so many children come are close to the starvation line. What is still more depressing is the fact that the school medical service has usually been one of the first victims of the economy axe. In one Province, for instance, such a service has been initiated three times, only to be discontinued as often on the plea of economy.

The less said the better, at any rate in the lower stages of Indian education, about the present state of affairs in regard to buildings, equipment and other facilities such as playgrounds and playing-fields, which are usually regarded as essential to any proper school in Western countries. Very few of the Indian schools I have seen fulfil my idea of a place where children can work and play and be happy. In this connection I should like to make a special reference to the committee which was set up three years ago by the Central Advisory Board to investigate the question of school buildings. This committee's report specifies in detail the minimum requirements in regard to sites, buildings, equipment, etc., for schools of all types, and contains various recommendations for taking fuller advantage of the Indian climate and other local conditions in order to minimize the cost of school construction.

9. *Special schools for children suffering from mental or physical handicaps.*

Although no accurate statistics are available, there can be little doubt that, owing to under-nourishment, neglect, unsatisfactory living conditions and other causes, the number of children suffering from physical and mental defects is unusually high. Very little indeed has so far been done for them, the responsible authorities arguing that their exiguous resources can be more profitably spent on educating normal children. In a universal system their claims can hardly be ignored.

10. *Recreational facilities of all kinds for people of all ages, to satisfy the craving for corporate activity and to counteract the drabness of the conditions in which so large a part of the Indian people otherwise spend their lives.*

Scouting and other similar organizations flourish in many areas, but they are not co-ordinated as purely educational influences which satisfy the natural desire for corporate activity of most young people. Very few boys' or girls' clubs exist in urban areas. The need for a youth movement on an all-India scale is clear.

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These are practically non-existent. In fact, of all the criticisms that can be brought

against the Indian system of education today, probably the most serious is that it makes no attempt whatever to market the articles which it produces. So far as I have been able to discover, only in the rarest incidences is any attempt made by the school authorities to advise parents as to the occupations for which their children are suited, to afford information as to the openings available in the area, or to restrict the intake into any particular institution or course of study where it is clear that the labour market is incapable of absorbing the output.

12. *An administrative system which will place initiative and authority in the hands of those who understand and care about education.*

Almost every Provincial report I have ever read has called attention to the inefficiency of many of the local bodies, to which responsibility for the lower stages of education has generally been delegated. It is indeed strange that when it was decided to encourage local government in India it should have been thought desirable to hand over education of all subjects to the mercy of bodies whose members are only too often either uneducated or uninterested in education, or both.

The Board have decided that if a national scheme is to be established with any real prospects of success, it will be necessary for Provincial Governments to resume all educational powers from local bodies. They have also prescribed ways for checking the rapid deterioration of the educational administrative service, to which attention has frequently been called of late.

AN ESSENTIALLY INDIAN SYSTEM

These essential requirements, on which the Board's plan is based, can hardly be described as extravagant. They were all covered, and more than covered, by the British system of education as it existed before the war. I need hardly remind you that Great Britain was by no means the most advanced country at that time so far as education was concerned, even though she was spending on this service rather more than sixty times as much per head of population as India. I must, however, make it very clear, if I can, that the Board's object is not to impose the British system or parts of it on India. It is an easy and specious criticism of any plan for educational or any other reform in India that its aim is to Westernize the country without regard to its tradition, culture or aspirations. As the Board, which is, after all, predominantly a body of Indians, have pointed out in their report, they have been careful not to adopt Western ideas or to copy Western methods without being fully satisfied that they are those best suited to India. They also recognize that conditions in different parts of India vary greatly, and that consequently their aim should be to indicate the main lines which development should follow rather than to prescribe any uniform or detailed plan. It will be for the responsible educational authorities to devise for themselves within the general lines laid down the type of education most appropriate to their particular areas and, with this object in view, to give the fullest encouragement to every form of potentially useful experiment.

While the aim throughout has been to devise a system which is essentially Indian, the Board at the same time believe that there are certain fundamental principles which must determine the training of the future citizen wherever in the world he or she may happen to dwell, and they cannot conceive that any form of social or political community will ever prosper unless the importance of fostering in the rising generation such attributes as physical fitness, intelligence and integrity of character receives the fullest recognition. In particular they are anxious not to expose themselves to the criticism that they have ignored the moral or spiritual side of education. They have stated with all the emphasis in their power that at all stages of education the training of the intellect and the training of character must proceed side by side. In other words, the plan assumes that Indian parents, like other parents, will wish their children to grow up physically fit, mentally alert and morally sound.

FINANCE AND TEACHERS

The scheme which I have outlined will cost, when in full operation, about Rs. 313 crores (£234,750,000) gross per annum. When the estimated income from fees, endowments and other sources has been deducted, Rs. 277 crores gross per annum will remain to be found from public funds. These figures are based on pre-war standards

both in regard to population and cost of living. In 1940-41 the total expenditure on education was about Rs. 30 crores (£22,500,000), of which Rs. 17½ crores came from public funds. In theory, this amount should be deducted from the total cost of the new scheme, but we have thought it advisable to work out the cost of a national system as if a start had to be made from the very beginning and to reckon the sum now spent on education from public funds as a reserve towards meeting the cost, in part at any rate, of providing for the prospective increase of population during the period which must elapse before a national scheme is in full operation.

For reasons to which I will refer, we have reluctantly come to the conclusion that even if all the funds required were immediately available, it would be impossible to complete the scheme in a period of less than forty years. The teacher is the determining factor in regard to time as well as to cost. Unless teachers are conscripted—a course we do not favour—or unless the minimum standards we have in mind for qualifications and training are lowered, which we should strongly deprecate, we see no prospect of producing the two million odd teachers required in a shorter time. Even so, we have been optimistic enough to assume that some 35 per cent. of the boys and girls leaving the new high schools will be attracted into the teaching profession by the salaries which the Board have recently prescribed. Briefly, these are, for assistant teachers in junior basic or primary schools, including nursery schools, R. 30 to 50 (£2 5s. to £3 15s.) per mensem both for men and women, together with a free house or house allowance in rural areas. This scale may be increased up to 50 per cent. to meet the needs of areas where the cost of living or other factors necessitate a more generous scale. For assistant teachers in senior basic or middle schools, the minimum scale recommended is Rs. 40 to 80 per mensem, with the same provision as in the case of primary teachers for increasing it to meet the needs of more expensive areas. For graduate teachers in high schools, the minimum scale prescribed is Rs. 70 to 150 per mensem.

Whether these scales are extravagant or not, or whether anything less will attract the sort of people to whom the training of the rising generation should be entrusted, are again questions which I shall be content to leave to your decision. If these scales are accepted as reasonable, they determine 70 per cent. of the total cost of the whole scheme, and any economies that it may be possible to effect under other headings of expenditure will not materially alter the final bill.

The Board's report has had a surprisingly good reception in India, even from those organs of the Press which usually have the utmost difficulty in finding a good word to say for anything even remotely connected with the Government of India. How far their approval of the scheme has been inspired not so much by its merits as by a suspicion that Government would find it somewhat embarrassing, I should not like to say. There has been at least one pronouncement from high quarters which may have lent some colour to the view that education would be allotted a very back seat in Government's reconstruction programme. I am certainly not in a position at the moment to shed any light on the intentions of Government. I can only hope that they will not ignore the very large volume of opinion, both inside and outside India, which is apparently convinced that action of a comprehensive scale cannot be deferred any longer. The criticisms of the report itself which have so far emerged, apart from gloomy prognostications of Government's probable attitude towards it, have tended to crystallize into one of two forms—either that the scheme costs too much or that it will take too long. But if the Board are right in holding that everything depends on the teachers and that they must be properly equipped for their task and properly paid, neither the time nor the cost can be materially reduced.

The Board have examined, with the attention they deserve, various proposals which have been put forward, with the object of lightening the financial burden of education on a national scale. Of these, the most interesting and significant is the Wardha Scheme, which was issued under Mr. Gandhi's auspices some years ago. This aimed at raising the standard of craft work in basic schools to such a pitch that the sale of articles produced by the pupils would defray wholly or largely the cost of the instruction. While the Board gladly recognize that this scheme contains much sound educational doctrine which they have not hesitated to incorporate in their own system of basic education, they are convinced that its financial expectations, even in

the very doubtful event of their being realizable under any circumstances, could only be realized at a cost of educational efficiency which they are not prepared to contemplate. They are, therefore, driven reluctantly to the conclusion that if India wants a proper system of education she will have to follow the practice of other countries and pay for it.

What prospects are there of finding the large sum which will be required to bring the scheme into full operation? The approximate incidence of the increased cost involved by the adoption of the Board's proposals works out roughly in lakhs of rupees as follows:

5th year, 10,00; 10th, 23,80; 15th, 37,40; 20th, 61,45; 25th, 106,00; 30th, 165,00; 35th, 250,00; 40th, 313,00.

It is assumed in the above calculation and throughout the Board's report that capital expenditure on school sites and buildings will be met out of loan in future. Provision has accordingly been made for interest and sinking fund charges only. Some diversion to the social services of sums now devoted to defence may be possible in the post-war period, and there is reason to believe that a Government prepared to face difficulties might succeed in releasing for these services substantial sums now in the possession of religious bodies, after fully safeguarding the legitimate claims of the bodies concerned. Whatever might accrue, however, from such sources could be no more than a useful contribution towards the total cost which would ultimately be involved. The great bulk of it can only be met out of expended revenue. But to enable a start to be made, some risk, perhaps even a great risk, must be taken, and the Board have recommended that for this purpose the early stages of development should be financed out of loan or out of such capital balance as may be available. In no other way can a vicious circle be broken. The development of India's economic resources and the expansion of her social services are inseparably connected and must proceed side by side.

The economists I have consulted are unexpectedly optimistic as to the possibility, given an all-out development of India's resources, of such an expansion of revenue as will enable the cost of this and other schemes to be met. The war has given a great stimulus to industrial development. In the even more important sphere of agriculture, a competent observer has estimated that, with the spread of enlightenment and the removal of prejudices and superstitions which this will promote, the standard of living among agriculturists might be raised by as much as 100 per cent. Others are even more optimistic. As you will no doubt be aware, some of the biggest business men of India have produced a plan for an expenditure of Rs. 10,000 crores on essential developments over a period of 15 to 20 years. This plan covers, among other things, the provision of compulsory primary and middle education for all, as well as the liquidation of adult illiteracy.

If there are any such prospects, they would more than justify an immediate loan of such a size as would enable a start to be made at once. It is in the world's interests, as much as India's, that this should be done and done quickly. People like myself who believe that, given the chance, the human race, not excluding Indians, is capable of progress, find it difficult to understand why, if money in any quantity can be raised in war time, the same cannot be done in peace-time for what may be a still more world-saving purpose. When I was preparing a paper about reconstruction in India not long ago, I dictated something to the effect that one day expenditure on education might be regarded as even more remunerative than expenditure on armaments. My stenographer, wishing either to save me from myself or to quote me as an authority in some argument with his wife, altered "armaments" to "ornaments." In my pessimistic moments I am inclined to think that he was right. It is barely twelve months since I saw education described as a "frill," which I believe is a form of ornament, in an official document. But at other times I am encouraged to believe that if the facts of the situation could be made clear beyond all reasonable doubt, men of goodwill, whether Indians or British, would combine to do something about it.

The question I propounded at the beginning is as simple as it is urgent. What is not less important, it would appear, in my humble opinion, to transcend all current political controversies. Federation will not answer it, nor Dominion Status,

nor non-violence, nor Pakistan. But the right answer to it may perhaps provide in the end the right answer to all these. In any case, I have good reason to believe that there are at this moment a very large number of people in India of all castes and communities, and of all shades of political opinion, who would be ready to co-operate in any constructive effort for dealing with one of India's most urgent problems. Such collaboration, once established, might well spread beyond the educational field. But, if anything is to be done, it will have to be done without delay. Moreover, so far as the Board's plan is concerned, there can be no half-way house between what is and what ought to be. It is all or nothing. All means expenditure on a scale which may frighten those who have defended inertia on the ground that India is too poor to have what other countries enjoy. Anything less than all means (and there is no evading this conclusion) that India accepts a position of permanent inferiority in the society of civilized nations.

THE CALL FOR ACTION

It is because I believe that no one who cares about India will be prepared to accept this shameful alternative that I venture to commend the Board's plan to you, in spite of all its shortcomings and in spite of all its financial implications. But the report by itself is nothing. I am old enough in Government service to realize that almost anyone who is not mentally defective, and some of those who are, can produce a report of some kind. What matters, and what is even more difficult in India than elsewhere, is to translate a report into action. The almirahs of the Central and Provincial Governments are stacked with admirable reports which have produced no tangible results whatever. Before I went to India I used to regard a report by an expert or by a body of experts as a preliminary to action. My experience there has shown me that it is only too often treated as an alternative to it. When I was a Director of Education in England and was feeling a little depressed, I used to get out my car and drive round my area, and when I saw schools being built and clinics being opened and playing-fields being laid out, I used to say to myself, "Well, this village at any rate will have a better school than it had before, these children will have a better chance than ever their parents had," and I used to go home comforted and encouraged. There has not hitherto been much consolation of this kind available for those who have served Education in India.

ON THE MARCH

I hope I have not underestimated the difficulties in the way of implementing the Board's plan. I am well aware that these are not simply, or even mainly, financial. I know, for instance, that there are many people both in India and outside who, seeing in a largely illiterate India the finest field for exploitation that was ever offered to human ingenuity or human greed, will not welcome the disturbance of the labour market which the introduction of education on a wide scale is almost bound to create. I realize also that the millennium cannot be brought in by the scratch of a pen or the flourish of a trumpet. England has been struggling for many years towards the sort of education which a great democracy needs, and in spite of your efforts, Mr. Chairman, the goal has not yet been reached. India, however much she may benefit by England's or any other country's experience, must expect to pass through a prolonged period of trial and error. It may well be that none of us here will see the day when India will at last possess a system of education as good as that of any other nation. Most of us will probably be like those Israelites of old, who went seeking the promised land and died in the wilderness, not having received the promise but having seen it afar off.

Nevertheless, the free peoples of the earth are on the march towards the goal of social security, and not only humanitarian considerations and the claims of social justice, but also our practical interest and our credit before history, demand that we should do all in our power to help India to fall in by their side. The White Paper which heralded the great measure of social reform with which your name, sir, will always be associated, began with some words of Disraeli's which are equally applicable to India: "Upon the education of the people of this country the fate of this country depends."

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the East India Association was held on Thursday, May 25, 1944, at the Royal Asiatic Society, 74, Grosvenor Street, W. 1, when Mr. John Sargent, C.I.E. (Educational Adviser to the Government of India), spoke on "Educational Reconstruction in India." The chair was taken by the Right Hon. R. A. Butler, M.P., President of the Board of Education.

After delivery of the address the CHAIRMAN said that it was always a pleasure to hear a master describe his work, and the members of the Association had just had that privilege. Mr. Sargent had put forward this plan with the utmost modesty and then had defended it in language which they would not easily forget and with a sense of urgency they had all found most impressive. He was struck by the difference between his own position and that of Mr. Sargent. In his case there had never been any question of obtaining money from religious orders; it had always been put to him that the traffic should be the other way. The fact was that in England education had been largely provided by the great religious denominations. Half the schools in the country were church schools of one sort or another. Again, he would not care to use the language which Mr. Sargent had done concerning local authorities. The problems of religious bodies and of local authorities had always been to the fore in this country in all great measures of educational reform. It was rather remarkable that Mr. Sargent had touched on almost every question that concerned Great Britain's approach to its own educational problems. The only difference was that educational reconstruction for India was projected on a mammoth scale. He was interested to notice the solicitude which Mr. Sargent had expressed on the subject of finance. He himself had not perhaps shown quite the same anxiety on that score. He had simply gone to the Chancellor of the Exchequer and asked for the money.

He welcomed in the paper the statement that the aim of the reforms was to achieve an essentially Indian system. India's ancient traditions should give them hope that the modern provision which was planned would make a successful start. Looking back upon the history of British endeavour in the past, he had been wondering whether they could not in this plan produce a synthesis of the ideas of Macaulay and the long-forgotten ideas of Warren Hastings, which were deeply rooted in a belief that India's own traditions should come to the front.

He had been particularly glad to note the tribute paid by Mr. Sargent to the distinguished Indians who were to constitute the new Board. In particular he would like to remind the present meeting of the lifework of Sir Akbar Hydari. In his own work at the India Office and in visits to India he had made Sir Akbar's acquaintance and had learned greatly to respect his many high qualities.

It was the achievement of Macaulay about a hundred years ago to secure an enduring place for the English language, and his words were so well known that he need not recall them to the present audience. It was his own feeling that Indian inspiration should now be writ large upon the face of this new scheme, and he hoped that in that way they would be able to combine the achievements of the past with the promise of the future.

During the first few years there was bound to be a tendency to concentrate on practical results, and no doubt to rejoice in the production of statistics, the joy of all administrators. But statistics alone would not make education. Illiteracy might well be slowly dissipated, as the morning sun cleared the mist from the ground; but this was only a preliminary to the hard and painful cultivation of the soil. Mr. Sargent realized that that cultivation would be the test of the reform rather than the initial brilliance.

There was no doubt that the educational system in Russia had had a powerful effect upon the welding of the national spirit of the Soviet Union. China's conception of nationhood was bound up with the educational schemes envisaged for that country. So, in India, though the magnitude of the task might appear to baffle those who

tackled it within the short span of their own public career, yet it was through education, and all that that word meant, that India's nationhood and the welding of her national spirit could be most readily assured.

Sir PHILIP HARTOG expressed his congratulations to Mr. Sargent on the courage and breadth of view displayed in his preliminary report to the Central Advisory Board of Education, and congratulated the Board on their own Report, which followed so closely Mr. Sargent's recommendations.

Mr. Sargent was despondent about the effects of reports of Committees and Commissions in India. He was less despondent, though he agreed that their effects might be delayed. In the view of Mr. Arthur Mayhew, the significance of the Report of the Sadler Commission on Indian education had been "incalculable." But it had still work to do, and work of the greatest importance, social, political, economic and educational. The Commission saw that without help from the Central Government there would be an educational famine in the poorer Provinces similar to the recent food famine in Bengal. He regarded the maintenance of central institutions, both for scientific research and for educational provision and advice, as of fundamental importance for the future.

He was a member when it was first formed of the Central Advisory Board, and was dismayed when it was axed in 1923. The Education Committee of the Simon Commission, of which he was chairman, went outside their precise reference strongly to recommend its re-establishment, and the recommendation was endorsed by the Simon Commission itself. It was true that it took till 1935 for the recommendation to take effect. The Board was now doing most valuable all-India work for the States as well as for British India.

When he first went to India it was an immense disappointment to find the indifference of the majority of the middle classes, the *bhadralog*, when he spoke to them of the education of the masses. He remembered his profound disappointment when the late Mr. C. R. Das, the more radical leader of Congress, then co-equal with Mr. Gandhi, made in the early twenties a stirring appeal on the subject. It passed almost without notice. It was not until 1928 that the All Parties Conference, under the presidency of Dr. Ansari and Pandit Motilal Nehru, proclaimed free elementary education as one of the fundamental rights of all citizens of the Commonwealth.

He would point out three more difficulties that had still to be faced. The first was this: that, whatever laws might be passed, educational mass conversion had to be effected before educational mass compulsion would be effective. Our own Education Act of 1870 could not have been effective in 1807 or even, say, in 1835.

The second was the financial difficulty. But the whole social ideas of the world were changing, and, as the Chairman had realized in his own great scheme, what would have been regarded as fantastic before the war was now regarded by Parliament as within reach.

He came to the last difficulty, which Mr. Sargent and the Board did not appear frankly to have faced—the difficulties created by the seclusion of Indian women, both Hindu and Muhammadan women. Until it was overcome it would make impossible the supply of women teachers on the scale demanded by Mr. Sargent, or on anything approaching that scale. There were in 1938-39 only 55,000 women teachers, and only half of them trained, in British India. Mr. Sargent wanted more than a million trained women teachers at the end of thirty-five years. It would be a miracle if he got them. But let him not despair. When Sir Philip first went to India it would have been regarded as a miracle for any woman to play the great part the women were now playing in Indian politics and public affairs.

Mr. J. C. POWELL-PRICE said that as Educational Commissioner in 1936 it fell to his lot to guide the faltering steps of the Central Advisory Board when it was revived. Since then he had had a large amount of experience of the Board, and he knew to what a great extent its success was due to Mr. Sargent's very invigorating lead. The Board was set up to be "a reservoir of ideas and a clearing-house of information," and Mr. Sargent had been fertile in the one and stimulating in the other. But he had always noticed that in India, whenever they were at a loss, they

imported experts from this country. It was a tendency he put down to the fact that a large number of members of the Indian Civil Service were products of the Oxford school of "Greats," and he believed that that school was based on the maxim that "the unexamined life was not worth living by mortals." There was the Sadler Commission, then the Linlithgow Commission on Agriculture, which had a lot to say on education, and then the Hartog Committee, which left them, in the United Provinces at any rate, some valuable lessons of which he hoped they had taken full advantage. Then Mr. Wood was sent out, and he had left a very marked impression on education in parts of India. He knew that in his own Province, at any rate, they had followed out very considerably his recommendations. Now they had Mr. Sargent, and Mr. Sargent, luckily, like Balaam the son of Beor, set out to curse and remained to bless. He had perhaps given a rather gloomy view of education in India. He himself felt that in some of the Provinces they were rather better than Mr. Sargent in his wide survey had led people to believe. But he had rather acted on the old Eastern proverb: "The dogs bark, the caravan moves on." The educational caravan moved on very slowly indeed, and Mr. Sargent now proposed to mechanize it, to direct it from a central dynamo, and to proceed on a uniform plan. He thought that was rather ignoring the condition of things in India. When he himself first went to the Government of India he came across a most interesting file beginning, "The educational policy of the Government of India," and in the margin in the writing of his predecessor, the late Sir George Anderson, were the words: "I did not know that the Government of India had an educational policy."

The value of this Report was that it would incite the Provinces to turn to the Government of India and say: "Here is a policy which your Advisory Board has laid down and which we are perfectly ready to follow—in fact, the policy which we have wished to follow for years—but whenever we made application for money to help us to implement this policy the Government of India has given us a stony denial." That was why he welcomed specially this Report. It would give the local governments a great lever in their demands upon the Government of India for money. Most provincial governments, he thought, spent more money on education proportionally than was spent in this country. In the United Provinces one-seventh of the revenue was spent on education. They could not spend one penny more, and they now look to the Government of India to help them.

But, of course, there was a greater obstacle than that. It was a question of the economic condition of India. In the United Provinces they had tried to work a scheme of compulsory primary education for children from six to eleven. All the big towns of the United Provinces had free and compulsory primary education. It was quite an efficient scheme, but its weakness lay in the economic condition of the people. Parents could not be expected to send children to school when their labour meant all the difference between mere subsistence and starvation. Until the economic condition of the villager and the town labourer was raised these schemes were frankly impossible.

Therefore it was more than a question of the provision and training of teachers. He was convinced that the ideal could be realized within less than the period of forty years mentioned by Mr. Sargent. But all these schemes depended on conditions after the war. Even in this country the new educational scheme depended on whether we were able to produce and sell the goods which would furnish the money for the scheme to be put into execution, and the same applied to India. The economic condition of the Indian countryside must be raised before any really large scheme of education could be put into action.

Dr. RANJEE G. SHAHANI said that it was undoubtedly true that education in India, with 85 per cent. of the people unable to read or write, was in a wretched state, but he begged that education should not be confused with literacy. It was true that the vast majority of Indians were ignorant of letters or books, but they were not on that account uneducated. On the other hand, he had met many literate people in Europe whom he would not call educated. . . . Every plan that had been proposed for India had been countered by the statement that India was poor. India was not poor; she was the richest country in Asia. In what did the richness of a country consist?

Clearly in its natural wealth and in the number of its inhabitants who could work and produce. There were 400 million Indians, and, looking at things from a detached point of view, he would claim that his countrymen were not inferior to any other people in intelligence or in any other quality.

How were they going to produce the necessary teachers if educational progress was not to be a very slow business? He agreed that they might for a time use conscription of teachers. Why not? Everybody in England was now practically conscripted—he could not do what he liked. Of course, womenfolk must play a greater part than they had done; but this was a matter of wise propaganda. He believed that the scheme which had been produced had a very good chance of success provided that there were the right men to carry it through. Everything, as usual, depended on the right men. Mr. Sargent was one such—at once practical and far-seeing, combining experience with vision. It was a real pleasure to listen to him. One concrete reform was worth gallons of Utopian gush.

He wished to make one point which had nothing to do with Indian education. It was that more might be done to make India better known in this country. This was best achieved not by discussing Indian philosophy and religions, but by giving the rising generation some knowledge of the psychology of modern India. Psychology, as we knew, cut right across all political theories. What the younger generation in India was thinking, feeling and hoping—this information ought to be made available in this country, and might do much good. He was happy to have the chance of putting this suggestion before the Chairman, who was not only the head of education in this country, but also a keen student of Indianism.

Mr. R. LITTLEHAILES said that he failed to find in the address any reference to the content of education. There had been a continual conflict of opinion as to the subjects or branches of subjects really suitable for India. Again, a point which Mr. Sargent had not mentioned was religion. It was known that in India there were two main religions, Hinduism and Muhammadanism, and there was also a large element of Christianity, and those who had gone into the question of religion in India knew that the Christian missions were among the first to do anything much in the way of spreading education among the masses. Their work went back for 160 years. In 1787 the Court of Directors of the East India Company made a grant to Dr. Schwartz, who was busy educating the people in Southern India, and that grant was continued to Dr. Schwartz's successors in the educational field to the present day through the Society for the Propagation of the Gospel. He wished the Bureau of Education seriously to consider whether it was going to base the education of India on religious and ethical principles or was going to accept merely a materialistic standpoint. The Chairman had referred to difficulties with religious organizations in this country, and they had in India similar difficulties. In certain parts—that is to say, in those areas in which the missionary effort was first available, in Southern India from Madras inland, and in Bengal from Calcutta northwards—there was a large number of schools run by religious denominations, but in the interior of India fewer of these were in existence. One problem was as to the position of these schools; he hoped the Bureau of Education would decide what recommendation it was going to make on the matter.

The problem of religious education was not confined to Christian institutions. Looking at the ancient Sanscrit teaching, it was to be seen that a large number of Sanscrit institutions—and there were many of these in different parts of India—were financed by the temple authorities. A smaller number of educational institutions were financed by the mosque authorities. Therefore in India there were not only educational institutions based upon the Christian theology, but also institutions based on the Hindu and Muslim theologies to be considered.

A recommendation had been made concerning the transfer to provincial authorities of the educational powers now vested in local bodies. He considered that to be a retrograde step. Many municipal authorities had done excellent work in the educational field. He would rather advise the consideration of several alternatives. One was that the power might be assumed by the provincial government; alternatively, it might remain where it was, with the local bodies; and, again alternatively, in some of

the local bodies the power might be retained and in others transferred either to the provincial government or preferably to other larger local bodies. There was yet another alternative—namely, to form *ad hoc* bodies specifically for education, these bodies to remain in existence only for a short period, for the formation of such *ad hoc* bodies could not be a permanent measure.

Lieut.-Colonel H. R. HARDINGE said that since all progress sprang from knowledge, and the existing standard of primary education in rural India was so deplorably low, it followed that a plan to raise that standard to a really efficient level was a priority subject of the first order. In a country such as India, where the rural population was so vast in numbers, so isolated, and, generally speaking, so ignorant, radio broadcasting was an ideal method of spreading information. The standard of living was primitive, and in such conditions the informative side of broadcasting could be of immense value.

Let the village schoolmasters continue for the time being to assemble their classes and instruct their pupils, but in the three Rs, and no more. Let there be a radio receiver installed in every such village, so that a small staff of competent lecturers, to be established at broadcasting centres, relatively few in numbers, could speak to the village classes. The village schoolmasters themselves would benefit from the talks upon subjects of general knowledge, and they, as well as the lecturing staffs, would become a nucleus for further development upon the lines of Mr. Sargent's plan, as circumstances permitted. As models for such talks there were those broadcast to schools in Great Britain by the B.B.C., also some of the simple but interesting items which from time to time were given in the "Children's Hour."

Moreover, the village receivers would serve at other times to spread information concerning subjects of interest and benefit to adults, such as health, agriculture, and what not, with, of course, some entertainment to relieve the tedium of village life. And again, the demand for wireless apparatus that would be needed as the plan took shape would open up fresh fields for the employment of Indians as mechanics and engineers in factories to produce such equipment and to service and maintain radio receivers throughout the country. That many young Indians showed marked aptitude for such work he could testify from personal experience.

Doubtless it would be asked: What prospect was there of all rural India being adequately served by means of broadcasting? The fact was that the Indian broadcasting system was already firmly and efficiently established; substantial areas were already covered by way of services broadcast from Peshawar, Lahore, Delhi, Lucknow, Dacca, Trichinopoly, Calcutta, Madras and Bombay, while plans had already been made for the extensions to other centres, which would be needed to attain complete coverage for local services when funds for the purpose were made available.

Finance presented no particular difficulty. The total extra cost of the comparatively small lecturing staff; the provision, installation and maintenance of village radio receivers; and perhaps even a proportion of the cost of expanding the broadcasting system to this most worthy end, would amount to only a fraction of that of the full realization of Mr. Sargent's plan.

It was to be hoped that the potentialities of broadcasting would be taken into account and utilized to the greatest extent possible as a means of speeding up the development of a higher standard of primary education in India, upon the achievement of which with a minimum of delay so much depended.

Mr. SARGENT, in reply, said that he hoped that Sir Philip Hartog would realize that the Board acknowledged itself to be greatly indebted to the various Commissions with which he had been prominently associated. With regard to the point about women teachers, he was afraid the Board did not contemplate during the next thirty or forty years the possibility of obtaining the ideal proportion of women to men teachers in India, but they hoped that with the enlargement of opportunities for the education of girls a continually increasing flow of women would enter the teaching profession and that ultimately the requisite proportion would be established.

He had also to express to Mr. Powell-Price his appreciation of his energy and enthusiasm in his own Province, where he had carried out some extremely valuable

experiments in the provision of basic education for the ordinary child of the village and town. It was a great pleasure to see Mr. Wood present, and to him also their thanks were due. He would, however, remind Mr. Powell-Price that he did say in his paper that there was no attempt in the Board's Report to prescribe a uniform plan from the centre which the provincial governments and other authorities would have to follow. It had been made clear that their Report was not a blue-print, it was merely an outline indicating certain lines of development and the working out of plans to suit the needs of particular areas—which, after all, varied considerably in a country of the size of India—must be left to the provincial governments. It was far from the Board's intention that the central Government should impose any educational dogma on provincial governments. Mr. Powell-Price would also note that on more than one page of the Report it had been made clear, even though it had not yet been accepted by the Governments concerned, that the carrying out of a scheme of this character must involve very liberal financial assistance from the Central Government.

With regard to the point made by Mr. Littlehailes, they had not ignored the content of education. Side by side with the main Report, the reports of various committees of the Central Advisory Board had been reprinted, and these dealt with the content of education in the different branches which those committees had explored. Thus the content and also the methodology were largely covered.

On the subject of religion he had said a word or two in his paper concerning the importance which the Board attached to the moral side of teaching. They had stated specifically that in their opinion any system of education which had not got an ethical basis was bound to prove barren. They had also stated specifically that they felt that there was a real place in the national system of education for schools run by denominational bodies, provided that they complied with the conditions to be fulfilled in regard to secular education by schools generally. At their last meeting the Board appointed a special committee, which he supposed the Press would describe as highly representative, to investigate the whole question of religious education and to endeavour to suggest lines of common agreement along which that thorny subject should be approached.

With regard to the transfer of powers, he was rather deterred by time from mentioning what was in view, but in the chapter on administration the four possibilities to which Mr. Littlehailes referred were mentioned. They did not advocate that all powers should be resumed, only that they should be resumed where the local bodies had misused them.

Finally, with regard to what Colonel Hardinge had said, it had been agreed that the utmost use ought to be made of all mechanical aids to learning, of which the radio was not the least important.

He wished again to express his sense of personal gratification that the President of the Board of Education should have taken the chair that afternoon.

Sir ALFRED WATSON proposed a vote of thanks to the Chairman and the lecturer. He said that he could not help feeling that it was fortunate that Mr. Butler and Mr. Sargent were not competitors in the same financial field, otherwise there might not have been the same deep harmony between them. They were raiders of different exchequers. Mr. Butler in his enthusiasm had rather suggested that when he had met his own needs there might be a margin which he could find for Mr. Sargent. As he contemplated his own income tax return, however, he recommended Mr. Sargent not to count too deeply upon that aid. Frankly, the state of education in India was the most serious blot upon British administration in that country in the past. They had to remove that blot, and in doing so, or attempting to do so, Mr. Sargent would, he was sure, have the full sympathy of the British Government, even if financially it was not able to offer aid.

The vote of thanks was carried by acclamation.

Mr. BUTLER, in acknowledging the compliment, said how pleased he had been to come to that meeting and to have his friend Sir Frank Brown at his side to support him.

Mr. J. P. BRANDER writes: Mr. Sargent's scheme seems likely to founder on finance. He thought that countries which provide vast funds for war can surely do so for the purposes of peace. But war expenditure is mainly non-recurrent, being for a few years only, so can be met by temporary heavy taxation and borrowing. Educational expenditure is recurrent, and in this scheme will ultimately swell to an enormous annual sum. The cost is about 50 per cent. more than the total pre-war revenues of India, central and provincial. These figures compare with a total expenditure on education of Rs. 30 crores in 1940-41, of which Rs. 17½ crores came from public funds. India is a poor country with limited natural resources; the taxable capacity of India is very low and will always be so, for the simple reason that the enormous population, about 400 millions, still increasing by over five millions a year, consumes and will consume by far the bulk of the national income.

Mr. Sargent thought the financial difficulty might be solved by raising a large loan. But borrowing to meet heavy recurrent expenditure not directly productive is not sound finance. It is also doubtful whether loans of the magnitude required and for the purpose contemplated would attract Indian lenders. Foreign money would probably not be forthcoming, as the political future and economic security of India are uncertain, and the expenditure would be non-productive.

Funds being so limited, it is thought that the best results for developing the economic and social welfare of India quickly would be got by devoting the greater part of any increased revenue to adult education, both literary and practical, on the lines of the village "Better Living" social welfare societies. The illiterate peasant realizes he is helpless when up against the money-lender and the village accountant, and so has a strong motive to overcome this disability.

To attempt to raise India, which is centuries behind Western countries in development, so speedily to the status which Western countries by long ages of effort have now reached seems impracticable. India, like them, will have to go through the necessary long novitiate. The rate of progress will be limited by the financial factor, and the aim should be to estimate as accurately as possible the funds likely to be available and how these can be expended to obtain the best results for the money. The Sargent scheme seems to put the cart of idealism before the horse of practicability and to build from the top downwards.

IF BRITAIN QUIT INDIA?

BY SIR ALFRED WATSON

"If Britain quit India?" There is nothing hypothetical about the question that is here posed. In the sense in which Mr. Gandhi has used the words and in which they have been adopted by the Indian Congress Party—the surrender of the whole control over Indian affairs into Indian hands—we are pledged beyond all recall. The time and manner of the transfer is for Indian decision. Unless Indians refused to take over power and responsibility, or declined to honour those obligations of the present Government that are inescapable, India at some time after the conclusion of peace will become entirely self-governing.

Apart from all pledges that have been given the present structure of government in India could not continue. The position over a great area of the field of government is such that while we have given up the instruments by which responsibility can be discharged the responsibility remains. Most of the Services have passed from our control. The end of the war will see the departure of large numbers of British officers overdue for retirement or for long leave. New recruits will not be forthcoming in sufficient numbers. Men of ability do not willingly enter upon a career that may be cut short at any moment by a remodelling of the Government machine.

GOVERN OR GET OUT

The position into which the British have drifted was revealed in all nakedness by the Bengal famine of last year. There was a complete breakdown of the Bengal administration, in whose hands the men and the machinery for dealing with such a situation had been placed. Responsibility for dealing with the crisis was cast back first on the Central Government and secondly on the British Government. That responsibility was acknowledged and accepted and what aid was possible was given. We cannot accept an endless repetition of such incidents in which every failure of an autonomous government in India is referred back to Westminster for a remedy. A Government over sixty million people must either show itself capable of providing the first essentials of good rule or get out. If administration is Indian then responsibility must also be Indian. Great Britain cannot remain the whipping-boy for every error committed by others.

Apart from all undertakings that may have been given, the whole structure of Indian Government as now existing makes it imperative that there shall be drastic change. The answer to our question as to what then may happen clearly depends upon the Indian decision as to the future form of government. There are many alternatives. India as a whole—British India and the Indian States in federation—may plump for Dominion Status within the Empire. Equally it might decide for separation and independence. British India might declare for independence while the States retained their allegiance to the Crown as a self-governing Dominion. Some of the Provinces of British India might go the one way and the remainder the other. The same with the States. Or again there might be the double or the treble division of India into Pakistan, Hindustan and Usmanistan, with any or all of the parts co-opting for Dominion Status.

PLANNING NEEDED

The possible combinations are endless, but whatever they may be the main problems of India remain. She has to evolve for herself institutions that will give internal peace, just administration of law, reasonable standards of living for the people, efficient control and development of all public services and the harmonious utilization of the resources of the country. Outside these she must make provision for defence against aggression and determine her relations to the other countries of the world. All these things require able and hard planning; they are not to be obtained by writing a constitution on parchment and leaving it at that.

None of them are made easier by the departure of what elements of British rule still exist. It has long been an article of the Liberal creed that "good government is no substitute for self-government." I have been bred in the Liberal faith and yet as I look round the world today I find myself questioning whether the man who coined that phrase knew what he was talking about. Self-government has certainly not prevented a great many countries getting into an appalling mess with their affairs. The most that can be said is that the fact that government may be worse is not a conclusive reason for withholding self-government, since any evil consequences fall upon those who make the choice between the two. I recall a conversation I had with Sir John Simon when he was at the beginning of his labours in India. He asked me what I thought his Commission ought to recommend. My reply was, "The least you can give is complete provincial autonomy, but when you have given it the first consequences will probably appal you." I may feel I was not altogether an unsuccessful prophet on that occasion.

COMPLETE FREEDOM

For better or worse we have to assume that India will presently attain some form of self-government. Her whole problem would be simplified if the decision of her statesmen was for a unitary government within the British Commonwealth of Nations. That would give her equal partnership with ourselves and the other Dominions. It would diminish the difficulties of defence. It would leave India free to make what laws she pleased for her internal government, and it would not bind her by any obligation to act with the United Kingdom in international affairs. The

neutrality of Ireland in the present war is a not altogether pleasing example of the liberty that the Dominions enjoy to make their own decisions at a time of peril to the Empire.

Independence in the sense in which the word is used by Indian Nationalism would give not more but less. There would be no more freedom in internal government, while the whole burden of defence by land, sea and air would fall upon India alone instead of being shared with a group of powerful nations. That is no matter to be treated lightly. When this war is over the peace-loving nations will still have to stand on guard and maintain their defences at a level that will deter any possible aggressor. An independent India faced by that necessity may at once abandon all thought of a "Bombay Plan" or the many other schemes for peace-time development of her resources. Her whole financial strength will be absorbed in providing for her safety. All these schemes require a period of twenty years' freedom from any threat to peace if they are to come to fruition.

LESSENING PROSPECTS OF AGREEMENT

For the moment I have been assuming that India proceeds after the war to the orderly evolution of a constitution upon which all sections of her population are substantially agreed. Unhappily that is not the situation that either India or ourselves has to contemplate. The prospect of agreement lessens the nearer we approach to the moment when agreement will be necessary. Any likelihood of the Constituent Assembly settling down to work without an immense amount of preliminary negotiation and research must, in my view, be abandoned. The parties, instead of preparing for settlement, are arming themselves for conflict.

In a letter I recently received from a man with long experience of administration in India occurs the passage: "I sometimes suspect that India's best chance lies in wholesale civil war ending in the forcible conversion of everyone to Islam. In any case *personal* government is the prime desideratum; could we possibly restore the Moghul Raj and the other princedoms?" That is a suggestion to which the answer must be negative so far as action by the British is involved, but whatever else is true of the present Indian deadlock we can no longer treat division on Pakistan lines or the resurgence of a militant Islam as negligible possibilities. Pakistan is a stern reality, throwing the shadow of chaos over all India and destroying all likelihood of unity. In the beginning it may have been regarded by those who adopted it as no more than a bargaining counter; if so, it has run away with its advocates and become the living faith of a people.

MUSLIMS WILL NOT ACCEPT "SAFEGUARDS"

Advocates of division plead that India is a huge country, that division into two or three separate federations does not preclude the possibility of working together in matters such as defence, communications and foreign relations affecting the whole of India. That is to overlook the fact that every section of a divided India will enclose minorities—sometimes minorities little inferior in number to the majority—and that the treatment of minorities is a constant cause of feud. Safeguards in constitutions are of no avail. When at one stage of the Irish controversy Mr. John Redmond and Sir Edward Carson met to see whether they could come to terms, Redmond observed that under Home Rule he was prepared to give Ulster every safeguard. The response was, "Damn your safeguards; I am not willing to be ruled by you." In that sentence we have the attitude of Muslim India today, strengthened and reinforced by the Cripps Declaration that the British Government is prepared to consider separate forms of government for different parts of India.

In passing, let us remember that future communal clashes in India will have a different character to those of the past, bad as they may have been. They will not be affairs of lathis. Two million men have been called to the colours and trained to arms. They are largely officered by Indians. There is now in the country the equipment for producing weapons. Each division of India would maintain its separate forces, and the mediating and restraining army will have been withdrawn. The prospect of civil war on the large scale will be no bogey of the imagination, conjured up to make the flesh creep, but an ever-present danger.

“MORE THAN A POLITICAL STUNT”

One does not wish to dwell too long on this aspect of the possible future, simply because there is the hope that the catastrophe may be avoided. But the claim of the Muslims to be a separate nation within India is something more than a political stunt; it is part of that re-awakening of Islam that may well present the whole world with a fresh problem at the end of this war. In asserting their claim to a separate life and a separate rule the Muslims of India—the largest compact body of the faith in the world—may turn for aid to their co-religionists beyond India's frontiers. Again India might see a new wave of invaders pouring through the northern passes—this time at the invitation of Indians.

Already Dr. Savarkar has urged Hindus to enter the Army, less for the immediate purposes of the war than to obtain the training for the struggle that he sees ahead. Such a clash of peoples as he contemplates would be civil war on a scale never before seen. Nor could it be confined to the main antagonists. We are far too much inclined to treat Indian divisions as if they lay solely between Muslims and Hindus. What of the Sikhs resolutely refusing to be included within the body of a Muslim State? What, within Hinduism itself, of the Scheduled Castes, alarmed and conscious as never before of the threat to their release from servitude?

POSITION OF THE INDIAN STATES

What of the Indian States? Mr. Gandhi and his protégés speak calmly of drawing them into the Congress Party maw. Mr. Jinnah contemplates the inclusion of some of them in the Pakistan area. Are they quite sure that the States will willingly be thus submerged? Is it not a possibility that the Nizam may object to have his State disposed of by Bombay lawyers? In such a contest of wills my personal money would be on the Nizam. Nor can I imagine the Jam Saheb or a hundred other rulers in India willingly bowing the knee to the Working Committee of the Congress Party or being seduced by the glamour of Gandhi.

Unless and until such matters as these are definitely settled by agreement we cannot quit India. Ambition is not dead in the land, nor is it confined to the politicians who are most voluble. I recall a conversation with the Maharajah of Bharatpur in which I remarked that if the English went the Muslims would take over Delhi. “Delhi!” he responded with passion; “if you go, Delhi is mine. My ancestors ruled there. I shall do the same.” In an unsettled India all the old animosities would revive and chieftains would again be carving out fiefs for themselves. The zeal for democratic government in India has yet to be proved. It received a rude shock to its foundation stone—the responsibility of Ministers to the electorate that returns them—when the Congress Ministers left office without an adverse vote of the Legislatures, without appeal to their electors, and at the behest of a body with no authority beyond what it conferred upon itself. It is useless to talk of democracy when those who claim rule deride its bed-rock principle.

A WORKABLE CONSTITUTION A NECESSITY

To examine such possibilities is not to go back on our promise to quit India. Anxious as we may be to leave we cannot go without seeing at least the blue print of a workable constitution. Difficult as it may be to remain, we cannot surrender India to anarchy or leave it to become the centre of another world war. Peace in India, ordered government there, will be a prime factor in the peace of the East. Not less certainly is it essential for the smooth working of commerce throughout the world. The problem of India can no longer be treated in isolation, nor as one in which India and Great Britain are exclusively concerned.

If the facts of geography point to India as a theatre of unitary government, they have even more certainly fixed its place as a focus of commerce and a bastion for the peace of the entire East.

How, again, with its army gone and its administration withdrawn is Great Britain to discharge the obligation it has undertaken to uphold the States against aggression? Are we to seek release from that undertaking and will that release be willingly given? The discharge of this and the many other guarantees to the Indian

people by which we are bound will, we are assured, be provided for in a treaty. Few things are more brittle in these days than a treaty; like over-tensioned glass, it is liable to burst into fragments at the slightest blow. If the treaty is swept aside in an outburst of passionate nationalism, what remedy has the other party to the undertaking? You can apply sanctions or you can go to war. Will either step be contemplated?

HOW PROTECT MINORITIES

We have stipulated that in any constitution there must be effective protection of the minority communities. How can you protect minorities in any part of the world? What would be the retort, to take extreme cases, if Great Britain protested against the treatment of the aborigines in Australia or the black races in South Africa? We should be told to mind our own business, and rightly so. If it is to be said that the protection given in the constitution will be upheld by the Indian courts of law, the reply is that the courts administer the law but Parliaments make the laws and alter constitutions at their will.

One might go on endlessly with particular cases, but the whole truth is that whatever there may be in the future Indian constitution, and whatever care may be taken over concurrent treaties, once Britain has quitted India her power to enforce the terms under which she surrenders power is, short of the reconquest of the country, limited to expostulation, as in the case of the other Dominions. For the rest she must depend upon good faith and goodwill.

FUTURE OF BRITISH NATIONALS

That applies in essence to the future status of British nationals resident and working in India. When one speaks of quitting India the phrase must not be taken to cover the voluntary withdrawal of the British commercial community. The British officers in the civil services will gradually go. British troops will be withdrawn, as the defence of India becomes an Indian matter. If British officers continue with Indian regiments it will be as servants of whatever Indian Government there may be. But the commercial community will remain and will, in my personal belief, grow in numbers, since it is an element in India's commercial and industrial life essential for expansion of India's well-being. Putting the position in a single sentence, India's dependence upon trade with Britain had become before the war of greater importance to her economy than British trade with India is to British economy. In the industrial expansion of the future India will for a long period have need of highly trained technical assistance; in her commercial relations she cannot, without disaster to her economy, change the channels through which trade has flowed.

What, then, is to be the position in the self-governing India of British nationals resident in that country? Treated as one of the minorities—a status already apparently denied to them by Sir Stafford Cripps—they would by their numbers be entitled to an infinitesimal representation. As an element in the economic life of the country they could be accorded a larger place, but that form of functional representation is scarcely in accord with the democratic theories of the age. As British nationals trading in a Dominion it might be assumed that they would be accorded those rights of voting that are given in the other Dominions, but in the general electorate of India their votes would be but a drop in the bucket. They could not hope to influence policy or legislation. We are forced back to the position that the largest contributor to the revenues of India in proportion to its numbers must rely for protection upon the British Government, itself confined in its activities to making diplomatic representations.

BETWEEN THE OLD AND THE NEW

Up to this point the quitting of India has merely been examined as a problem of government. Let me diverge for a moment into the realm of imaginative speculation. How far, we may ask, will severance of the British tie, if that be the final decision to which India comes, change the life of the nation? Will there be a revolt from Western influences? In the contest that is bound to arise between the wishes of Mr. Gandhi for a return to the simple life of the past and the eagerness of Indian industrialists to exploit the natural resources of the country which will be the victor?

Of the answer I have myself no doubt. India cannot turn back the clock. For good or for evil she has been drawn into the maelstrom of progress. Those of her people who would make an end of all Western invention are today few and tomorrow will disappear. The institutions that the West has thrust upon India, the industries that have been developed, the new conceptions of education, of health, of social service will continue as a profound influence upon her life.

Who can doubt the victory of the modern school of thought about these matters who sees the eagerness with which Indians are acquiring financial interest in industry or who studies the plans put forward for post-war development? The mediavalists will fight hard, backed probably by the Hinduism that has lost something of its grip upon the people as a consequence of those contacts that the growth of cities and the extension of communications makes unavoidable, but they are doomed to defeat. In that defeat a million soldiers who have fought in every country into which war has been carried, bringing back to India new conceptions of the world they have seen, will play no inconspicuous part. India's destiny is cast with the forward-looking nations of the world. Yet the battle between the two schools of thought will be fought and may be as grave a clog upon India's economic advance as Gandhian ideas have been in the political field.

Orthodox Hinduism is rallying its forces under the banner of the Hindu Mahasbha for what may be a last great battle. It may in its eagerness for power seek to absorb into the caste system the fifty millions of the Untouchables, whose protection is one of our responsibilities and whose position, if left to fight their own battle, may become an enduring slur upon the British name.

AN EAST AND WEST SYNTHESIS

It would be the gravest reflection upon the century and a half of British rule if it left no enduring influence upon the thought and the economy of India. Something of the driving power of the past will undoubtedly be lost. India must depend more upon its own energies and its own original thought. The pace may be slower than it might have been, but the East is awake as never before and India cannot afford to lag behind. With lessened help from outside, without the guiding power of the past, she must find within herself new sources of energy or descend to a lower place in the scale of the nations. To her the synthesis of East and West will be an essential of her existence.

In all that I have said this afternoon I am painfully conscious that my mind has been struggling with two utterly different situations. At one moment I have tried to picture what would happen if Britain quit India before some form of agreement were reached between Indian communities; at another thought has turned to what would occur after a constitutional settlement. The first prospect is so alarming that it is well to say here and now, and with all emphasis, that Britain could not in such circumstances leave India to her own devices, to become speedily the prey of some outside power.

Given that measure of agreement that would enable Britain to quit—and that is what we hope for—there would still be the internal struggle for place and power, the difficulty arising out of the whole past history of the land of welding all the peoples into one nation. But that would be for Indian statesmanship to achieve. There would be the immense task of finding the human material for ordered and efficient government among men who have consistently denied themselves the benefits of administrative experience. But the consequences of that past folly would fall upon Indians. They would have made their choice. No longer would there be somebody else to blame.

CAN INDIA QUIT?

In a final word let me put the reverse of the picture. Britain may quit India; can India quit Britain? The destinies of the two countries have been bound up together for nearly two centuries. They have become so interwoven that the one language in which all India can conduct its political discussions is English, and attempts to impose Hindi on the southern areas of the country have already met stern revolt. Much of the law, of the machinery of government, of the organization

and regulation of industry and commerce are in the British tradition. India's external defence for generations to come will be impossible without a link with some stronger power. Above all, perhaps, the outside trade upon which India must depend for the maintenance and improvement of her standards of life is conducted for the greater part within the British Empire. The consequences of the long association cannot be swept away in a passionate moment; they cannot but determine the whole future life of India.

That India should remain as an ordered and peaceful country within the Empire is of importance to ourselves. That fact cannot be shirked, for with India outside the British Commonwealth the Empire shrinks by three-fourths of its total population. What has proved and may prove again a vast reservoir of strength in times of trouble will be lost. It is as essential to ourselves as to India that the breaking of the governmental link should be followed by the stronger welding of other ties.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held at Caxton Hall, Westminster, on Thursday, April 20, 1944, when Sir Alfred Watson read a paper entitled "If Britain Quit India?" The Chair was taken by Mr. GODFREY NICHOLSON, M.P.

After the paper had been read,

The CHAIRMAN said that Sir Alfred Watson had given a most penetrating and realistic analysis of the Indian problem. He personally did not share the extreme gloominess of Sir Alfred's view, but nobody could deny that his analysis was based upon great personal experience and ripe judgment. He himself did not believe that the link between Britain and India would ever be broken, for as far ahead as one could see. Neither Indian nor British statesmanship was bankrupt, but no solution or compromise was possible with the present Indian set-up in the political field. Nevertheless, there was a young political India, now generally occupied in fighting the war, and certainly not very vocal in Congress, composed of men and women of a realistic frame of mind, who would face facts, and get along with the government of the country when they had the chance.

The record of Indian statesmanship during the last twenty or twenty-five years had not been a bad one. Under the most difficult conditions that could prevail Indian affairs were governed to a large extent by Indians, and this was the case today. But all of them were in the grip of forces which would act and interact without regard to the speeches of politicians in either country. Political speeches were not half as important as politicians were inclined to think. The plain fact was that this collection of different races existed, and a federal solution of some sort was the only solution. Personally he believed that the Act of 1935 provided the lines on which they should proceed for the time being. But federal constitutions could not really be imposed from above, they must grow up from the coming together of the respective units of their own volition.

The rôle of England was not that of proprietor or occupier, but of an elder brother who wanted to see his younger brother attain full stature and freedom as soon as possible. Freedom was a much abused word. It did not necessarily mean self-government under one's own flag. The great test that was coming to all humanity was whether they were going to live in free states or in slave states, and the main British duty to the Indian people was to see that they lived in conditions of freedom, and not of racial or political slavery, that every man had freedom of expression, freedom of work, and freedom to live his own life. Their task was not easy, but at least it was simple and straightforward. It was, first, to get hold at all costs of Indians who would take a part in the political life of their country. He did not think that could be done under the impression that if they thought hard enough there was a wonderful solution

round the corner, because there was not. It could only be done by keeping the door open and waiting and getting into contact with young political India.

Sir Alfred Watson had said that no constitution could be drawn up without great preparation beforehand, and he believed that the only constructive thing they could do at the moment was to see that at the disposal of all groups in India there was a body of the finest brains to help them. Though comparison between India and South Africa would be misleading, he wondered whether some useful deductions might not be made from the work achieved by Lord Milner's "kindergarten" in the latter country.

Brigadier J. G. SMYTH, v.c., said that they had declared many times most emphatically to India and the world that they intended to quit India after the war as soon as a new and adequate constitution could be found. He thought that the world really believed that they did mean what they had said, and most certainly they could never go back on it. Probably the only two peoples who did not really believe that we meant to quit India were the British people and the Indian people. Their first task should be to do everything they could to convince the people of this country and of India that they really did mean what they had said. They were so concerned with all the difficulties of the Indian problem that they were apt to get away from the main question—namely, the existing antagonism between the two big religious communities, the Hindus and the Moslems. If that could only be got over these other problems would solve themselves. He agreed that there was a tremendous opportunity to overcome this intolerance by trying to bring together the younger generation. Nothing was possible with the present Indian leaders; they must dig below the surface and try to produce some new people. A great deal could be done in the Indian Army, where people of all classes were working and fighting together for one object.

Everyone in discussing the Indian question was most concerned with the time factor. Assuming that it was possible to beat Germany this year, he did not think it was beyond the bounds of possibility that Japan might be beaten by the end of 1946 or 1947. But it was not a question of everybody going home. There were all sorts of things that would have to be done before the war in the Far East could be wound up. Burma had to be put into some sort of order, Malaya and Singapore had to be reoccupied, there would be an army of occupation in Japan, and then there would be in India itself a terrific problem of the demobilization of thousands of Americans and British and other races who would be there at the end of the war. Therefore there was a good deal more time than they were apt to think, and there was time to try to introduce some new blood.

Mr. A. K. PILLAI (Radical Democratic Party) said that Sir Alfred Watson had placed before them a masterly analysis of the Indian problem. Nevertheless, the problem as presented might almost baffle the imagination. While there was an Indian problem there was also a corresponding British responsibility. Britain could never wash her hands and say that this problem was not hers also. He reminded the audience that India had given two million young men to the Army. Those young men and their families must not be sent back to squalor and poverty, and that in itself made a formidable problem. The problem was not one of ordinary demobilization, but of providing these people with a standard of living which would be very different from the standard of living available to them before the war.

The problem of India was partly the outcome of the historical process of British rule. The difficulties were undoubtedly there, but difficulties were there to be met, and not to baffle them. Both Sir Alfred Watson and the Chairman had referred to young India. He was quite sure that if young India was approached with a reasonable proposal it would co-operate in solving the problem.

Out of the liberating influences of this war there was rising a young people's India willing to co-operate with British democracy. That was not the Congress India, Hindu or Moslem India, whose claims and quarrels alone had reached British ears. There was the other India—larger and more real. British democracy must help that India to come to her own.

Mr. LEONARD MATTERS said that he had been particularly struck by some of the author's concluding remarks, in which he appeared to appreciate that he himself had been alternating in his thought between optimism and pessimism. He had laid emphasis on the fact which they all appreciated that Britain was irrevocably pledged, subject to a time factor, under certain conditions to hand over to India the control and shaping of her own destinies. Whether or not India believed that, that was certainly what India expected, and he could see no escape from the implementation of that pledge. He saw this war ending with the hopes of all them fulfilled, that the major enemies of freedom and peace were going to be defeated, and they would have secured for themselves a minimum of a generation of peace in which to get on with those things they had at heart. If that was the case then it removed one of the elements of doubt on which Sir Alfred had laid considerable stress—the doubt, namely, as to whether India could be made free from the aggression of some power. It would be interesting to learn, in the event of Germany and Japan being manifestly and completely defeated, the name of this power which was going to step into India. (A voice: "China.") Some of them hoped that China, having been purged in the fires of suffering herself, would be one of the pillars of progress and civilization.

When considering the appropriate moment for the implementation of this pledge which they must honour, they should not be too exacting. He had yet to find that any country after a great drastic or dynamic political change settled down at once to an orderly smooth working. That was not the history of this country after the Cromwellian revolution in the seventeenth century, nor was it the history of Latin America, whose countries he had studied very closely. Again, it was not the history of Ireland. He could see no reason in justice why they should expect of India more than history had taught us to expect of other countries to which had been entrusted, either by their own action or in this case by the fulfilment of a pledge on the part of Britain, the shaping of their own destinies. He was one of those who shared the Chairman's optimism that in the long run the statesmanship, the good sense, and the great qualities of the Indian people would produce in that country a constitution and a system under which India would proceed to fulfil a destiny such as all of them wished for her.

Captain K. K. LALKAKA said that he was pleased with the forceful and realistic tone of Sir Alfred Watson's paper. The things he had said, he hoped, would be taken to heart and find a large circulation. Brigadier Smyth had made the very telling observation that neither the British people nor the Indian people believed that Britain wanted to quit India. His experience was that the British people at any rate did not stop at that. Only the previous day a very important man, in whose hands rested the shaping of the mind of the present generation in very large numbers, was discussing the prospects of a meeting at which India was to be debated, and exclaimed, "Damn it, but all he will say is what wonderful achievements we have to our credit in India! I wish he would bring out some of the black pages in our administration in India." But to the question, "What are the black pages?" the answer was hardly satisfying and convincing. It all boiled down to this: it was not a question of what would happen if Britain quitted India, but whether Britain had any right to quit India. He begged them not to see India out of all its proper proportion. The Chairman had referred to the need for thinking on realistic lines. He was afraid that many of the people in this country and many of the intellectuals in India had been doing a lot of wishful thinking. If one looked through the pages of Hansard during those years when the India Bill was being debated one would discover the abysmal ignorance of the British parliamentarian. He repeated the question: Had Britain any right to quit India?

Sir FRANK NOYCE said that the Association had reason to be most grateful to Sir Alfred Watson for his realistic paper, but he could wish it had been given to a somewhat different audience. They would all agree with his acute diagnosis, but it should have been addressed to the leaders of public opinion in India, for it was only they who had the power to prevent the sinister possibilities unfolded in the paper from becoming dire and devastating facts. He agreed that good government might be no

substitute for good self-government or perhaps even for indifferent self-government, but it was an extremely good substitute for bad self-government, and one could only hope that the 400 million people of India would never have occasion to realize how true that was. Had Germany self-government? Had Spain? Had Italy? Totalitarianism was not self-government, it was sheer tyranny, and, in spite of the protests made in the House of Commons two days previously, he held that Congress had very little to learn about methods of totalitarian government.

Sir Alfred Watson had told them that this country was committed up to the hilt to give India self-government as soon as possible, whatever form it might subsequently take, and there the time factor came in. In that connection, there was a very short sentence in Sir Alfred Watson's paper which caused him profound uneasiness. Sir Alfred had said that, unless and until such matters as the Hindu-Muslim struggle, the position of the States, and the Depressed Classes were definitely settled by agreement we could not quit India, and that these matters would take a long time to settle. The speaker thought it was true that the vast majority of the Indian members of the Service had loyally done their best under most difficult conditions to maintain the old traditions of efficiency. But it was human nature that they should look occasionally over their shoulders and wonder what was going to happen when those who so vociferously demanded that Britain should quit India were in the seats of power and became their masters. One could not help thinking that there was grave risk that the administrative machine would break down and that, even if the British stayed in India, the fate of that country might be almost as chaotic as if they had left it.

The Chairman was right in thinking that the great hope for the future of India rested with the youth of India. Millions of Indians—European Indians, Muslims, Sikhs, and Hindus—were fighting side by side against a common enemy, and the experience they had gained in so doing might well, when they returned home, make them say to the Montagues of Congress and the Capulets of the Muslim League, "A plague on both your houses!"

Mr. COWASJEE JEHanghir said that the author had given a very clear picture of the difficulties which were bound to arise if Britain and India unwisely decided to part company. Loyal Indians who were also long-standing friends of Britain felt the pinch of this unfortunate position and the soreness of having Indian political leaders disagreeing so acutely amongst themselves. Among the minorities the Parsees had a particular tie of understanding and friendship with Great Britain, spreading over many generations. Consequently they longed for a settlement, amicable to all conflicting parties, which would keep India within the Commonwealth of Nations. Unfortunately, British policy in India had too often caused hearthburning and enmity between our two countries. In many cases the wounds were still open, and much more soothing balm was necessary. Japan was today at their gates, and indeed within their borders. Yet many millions of their misguided people were tempted to believe that, if the United Nations lost the war, they would be changing only one yoke for another. To Indians who viewed the position as it really existed, this idea was not only most foolish but desperately alarming, because they were alive to the dangers of the cunning enemy and could never look upon their British connections in terms of bondage. Thank God the false notions mentioned had not taken very deep root in their country yet. Admitted that ignorance of their mutual ways and the difference in their upbringing was the cause of most of the trouble and misunderstanding existing between them, yet the Indian mind had suffered much humiliation owing to misguided Englishmen who, when serving in India, had not thought it their duty to understand the sensitive Oriental mind, especially the temperament of such of the masses as had never left India and seen the rest of the world. Although they had come closer together in the war, there was much to be done on both sides. It was only by patience and understanding, coupled with the unceasing labours of those of them who were both true Indians and friends of Britain, that they would see a future of greater harmony on the basis of equality, with good-fellowship all round. This was vital for both India and Britain so that they might be always equipped against any future aggressor, not only with munitions of war, but with understanding and friendship which no enemy artillery could ever disintegrate.

India and England were like a married couple who after many years of holy matrimony decided to separate because one party or the other, or both, could not see clearly. Then a kindly hand came forward to show them their mistakes and to point out the real strength of unity and harmony. Those Indians who were capable of seeing the light more clearly should form this guiding hand, together with British friends who were most desirous of full Anglo-Indian union on terms of equality as soon as possible. This union would be one of the chief bases for the future happiness and prosperity of mankind.

Commissioner BAUGH (Chief of Staff, Salvation Army) said that the Christian community in India was not entitled to, or expecting, any preferential treatment. He thought the Christian community was requiring nothing more than just to be taken on its merits and to be considered by the contribution it was able to render to the good of the country and to the good of the people. If that were assured he hoped that the Christian community in India would be in safe hands, no matter who might be the economic or political masters of the country. Were it otherwise there would be serious cause for concern. They would tremble to think that Pakistan was going to resolve itself into two portions of the country, in each of which certain religious beliefs would be the sole religious beliefs permitted. The Christian Church had very considerable contributions still to make to the life, the thought, the happiness, and the peace of India, and it was his sincere hope and trust that whatever might ultimately emerge from the chaotic conditions of the present day, there would be an India in which there was room for all classes, not excluding the Untouchable Classes, and an India in which religious equality should be the keynote.

Mr. FREDERICK BOWMAN desired to put forward a point of view which had been raised at many Indian meetings in London. It was alleged at these meetings that the war had been thrust on India against the will of the Indians, that they were not interested in it and not consulted about it. They alleged also that the famine in India had been caused by the appropriation of food which was required for the maintenance of the population and its transference to the upkeep of the British Army. Furthermore, one of the great points made at these meetings was that imprisonment without trial or charge was carried out in India, and had been for a considerable time, and that until the Congress leaders were put on trial or released there would not be any prospect of peace there. Indeed, this last obtained in this country under 18B.

Sir ALFRED WATSON said that he would have no hesitation in replying to the points raised by the last speaker had they any relevance to the subject they were dealing with that afternoon. All of them had been dealt with at recent meetings of the Association. Perhaps Mr. Bowman would forgive him if he refused to be drawn by the bait dangled before him.

He thought there was too much tendency on the part of Indian speakers in the discussion to wish the British connection with India to continue with all its duties and responsibilities, but without the machinery to carry out those responsibilities and without an electorate, in what would be a self-governing India, to support whatever it might do in the country.

He agreed that the future of India must lie with the young men, but in his own experience they were difficult to find. He would throw out one idea: Why not establish some body—a Royal Commission or a Privy Council or whatever it might be—representative of all the Indian parties and representative of the best political thought in this country and set it to work to find out what was the greatest common measure of agreement that could be reached? If such a body were constituted the Congress leaders could at once be released on consenting to become members. The very fact of the leaders consenting to be in a body of this sort would wipe out civil disobedience. That body might sit for years, but as long as it had not reported the present framework of the Government would, fortunately or unfortunately, be fixed. He was not altogether in accord with the Chairman in thinking that his paper took a gloomy view of the situation. Rather he was still hopeful of a settlement.

Sir BENJAMIN ROBERTSON, in expressing the thanks of the meeting to the Chair-

man and to the Lecturer, recalled that when he went out to India nearly sixty years ago there was a strong agitation among Europeans in connection with the Ilbert Bill. They had travelled a long way along the road of political progress since those early days, and that road had led in the right direction. There were, however, some very nasty blocks, and the way to remove them would be to enlist the sympathies of the younger generation.

THE HOT SPRINGS RESOLUTIONS: THEIR RELATION TO INDIAN AGRICULTURE

A MEETING of the Association was held on Wednesday, March 15, 1944, at the Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, S.W. 1, when Sir John Russell, O.B.E., F.R.S., read a paper entitled "The Hot Springs Resolutions: Their Relation to Indian Agriculture." Sir Henry Craik, Bart., G.C.I.E., K.C.S.I., presided.

The CHAIRMAN said that very few words were necessary to introduce Sir John Russell to any audience interested in agriculture. Not only was he a member of practically every learned society in the world, but was until a few months ago director of the oldest and most important experimental station in the world. His work had been of immense practical value to farmers. He was to talk today about the application to India of one of the principles laid down in the Atlantic Charter—namely, freedom from want in respect of food. Lord Wavell, in addressing the Indian Legislature recently, had said that India had an outstanding rôle to play in the post-war world and that the present task was to prepare her materially and morally for those years. One of India's blessings was her undeveloped resources in agriculture, and with due improvements in methods her food supply could be immensely increased. Economic and social development must be planned so as to raise the standard of living and general welfare, so that the poor man of India could be raised from poverty to security, from ill-health to vigour, from ignorance to understanding. Lord Wavell's words set a target at which to aim and he hoped Sir John Russell would be able to indicate some of the methods by which it might be attained.

Sir JOHN RUSSELL then read his paper, which is given in the last (April, 1944) issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW*, from p. 157.

DISCUSSION

The CHAIRMAN said that Sir John Russell had necessarily given a very broad view of the problems involved and he hoped that in the discussion experts would be able to go into greater detail with regard to particular aspects. The main things to be faced seemed to be the necessity for keeping pace in agricultural production generally with the very rapid rise in population. Sir John had given figures to show that up to the year 1934-35 agricultural production had more than equalled the growth of population, but he would be interested to know whether that was also the case with regard to the increase up to the last census in 1941, when the increase exceeded the 15 per cent. of the previous decade. Was it possible to produce enough food to cope with that alarming increase?

The second point which the lecturer had emphasized was the supreme importance of increasing, doubling or even quadrupling, the milk supply, and that was perhaps the most difficult aspect of the whole matter. A great deal had been done in recent years to improve the breed of cattle and the results were shown in the higher consumption by the better classes of proteins in certain provinces.

Thirdly, a point which Sir John did not touch upon, but which seemed to be

relevant, was it possible to persuade the population to change their traditional and customary diet? There had been a great reduction in the available supply of rice since Burma fell which must have meant an involuntary change over to other grains. Could that process be extended? With patience the traditional and religious objections to a change of diet might be overcome, but there were others present who were better informed than himself and who might be able to speak on the matter.

Sir MALCOLM DARLING said that Sir John Russell's paper had been of special and egotistical interest to him because in a book which he wrote fifteen years ago one of the points specially emphasized was the importance of increasing the milk supply and growing more fruit and vegetables. This was the result of grubbing about for such facts as could be found in the course of official duties, and he was glad to find that his layman's conclusions were endorsed so authoritatively by Sir John Russell. But here was 1944 and comparatively little, in terms of India's needs and possibilities, had been done to increase the supply of fruit, vegetables and milk. What were the difficulties which had stood in the way?

Looking up what the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India had said on the subject in their Report, he found that vegetables occupied only a modest two or three paragraphs. The Commission had indeed noted that the Punjab Government intended to appoint a vegetable expert in 1929. But he had not been appointed, anyhow up to 1939, although the Punjab was always very much to the fore in matters of that kind, and he doubted whether any other Provincial Government had appointed one either.

The value of mixed farming, to which Sir John Russell had alluded, had also still to be appreciated. Mr. Calvert had emphasized the importance of this in a book which was far too little known—*The Wealth and Welfare of the Punjab*—published as far back as 1922. He himself had never met anyone in the Punjab who did mixed farming and who was not prosperous in comparison with neighbours who stuck to the old ways.

There were other and greater difficulties—for example, the prejudice amongst the higher castes against growing vegetables. He remembered a Rajput saying to him: "Our work is with millet and wheat, the big, big crops, not with carrots and radishes. That is for *mūls*." But fortunately there were signs of a change in that direction even ten years ago.

A more fundamental difficulty was the fragmentation of holdings. In his view, it was not possible to have agricultural progress in the terms of Sir John Russell's paper where holdings were badly fragmented. He would give one example of what followed their consolidation. When he visited the village of Daulatabad near Delhi soon after its holdings had been consolidated, he found that twenty-six wells had been sunk and fifteen acres were under vegetables as against none before.

The greatest difficulty of all was in regard to milk—the most important of the three articles of diet emphasized by Sir John—because it turned upon the Hindu's attitude towards the cow. One spoke of this attitude with the greatest deference because it was founded upon a deep-seated and a very right feeling for an animal which did so much for human beings in India, but one could see that so long as the feeling persisted it would be difficult to secure that only the best cattle were bred. Speaking of a tract which was famous in India for its cattle, the Punjab Government's Livestock Officer told the Royal Commission for Agriculture that 50 per cent. of the cattle were "rubbish." He could well remember Mr. Calvert exclaiming to a number of students, mostly Hindu, whom he had been addressing and who protested vehemently at his advocating unproductive cows being slaughtered as in England: "You have the cows," he said, "and we have the milk," which put the problem into a nutshell.

But here, again, there was reason for hope, for as far back as 1929 Mahatma Gandhi, writing in *Young India* on March 7, said: "Measures for preventing our cattle from degeneration are more important than the measures for saving them from the butcher's knife." In those days the speaker was inclined to think that what India most needed was co-operation; then he realized that even more than co-operation India needed education, and now his final conclusion was that most of all India

needed health. Health was a matter of food, and that was why Sir John Russell's paper was of such value.

Sir ATUL CHATTERJEE expressed his regret at the small audience because what Sir John Russell had said was of the utmost value to India, of much greater value than the political discussions which attracted bigger audiences. He greatly appreciated Sir John Russell's goodwill to India. It had been manifested on more than one occasion and he hoped that copies of the paper would be broadcast throughout India.

Sir John Russell had said that animal husbandry mixed with growing crops was the best form of agriculture for a country like India. Did he include animal husbandry for purposes of milk or for the purposes of food? If the animals were to be kept for food he feared that it would be a long time before the people in India would reach that form of agriculture.

He did not think what Sir Malcolm Darling had said would hold good in every part of India. In Eastern Bengal a majority of the population were Muslims and there ought not to be any great difficulty there with regard to the weeding out of unnecessary cattle. On the other hand, on the question of milk production, he felt that the real difficulty was the absence of pastures in many parts of India and consequently the cattle had to be mostly stall fed. It was quite true that fodder crops could be grown, but it was difficult; in the United Provinces, for instance, there were large areas of comparatively waste land so salty that it would not produce pasture. He wondered if Sir John Russell could suggest methods by which the pasture-land in India could be increased in area. Sir John had told him in conversation that by proper treatment, although the amount of land actually growing crops was reduced, the ultimate result would be good cattle as well as better and larger crops. This had to be brought home to the peasant and the Agricultural Department should do more in the way of popularizing such truths than had been the case so far.

Two other points had struck him. In the first place he was rather sceptical of the true significance of what Sir David Meek and others had said with regard to agricultural production keeping pace with the population in India. He was not at all satisfied with that statement as it stood. Agricultural production might have kept pace, but it was never adequate, and as there were no reliable figures for fifty or one hundred years ago it was impossible to say whether the population was now better fed than in those days. So far as his own recollection went people in India were never sufficiently fed.

Secondly, fifty or sixty years ago, when the first Famine Commission reported, it was believed that if diversity of occupations could be introduced in India famines would be eliminated, but that had not proved to be a sufficient remedy. Today the number of people employed in industry in India was much larger than it was fifty or sixty years ago, but the proportion of industrial workers to the total population was much less than it was formerly, so that the question of agricultural production was becoming vitally important. The methods which Sir John Russell had suggested today should be adopted in every village in India. This would only be possible if there was an outburst of activity on the part of the governments in India.

Various statements had been made with regard to the order of priority of India's needs. It was difficult to say whether communications, health or education should have priority, but certainly food production should have absolute priority, but not very much ground would be gained even in that respect without education, which must be imparted in a broad sense.

There were two other points which Sir Atul wished to mention. Sir John Russell and Sir Malcolm Darling had referred to the question of growing vegetables and fruit. In Bengal, where the villages were built in a different fashion from those in the north of India, practically every man had a little vegetable plot adjoining his homestead, which was a good thing because he had much less milk to depend on than in other provinces and he could also get a little fish from the ponds and rivers. He was, therefore, not so badly off as the villagers in north India, where the difficulty about growing vegetables was that the villages were closely packed, there was no land adjoining the houses where the men could grow vegetables. In the United Provinces the best cultivators were those who owned the best land close to the villages

and grew vegetables there, and it would be very difficult to persuade other villagers in the United Provinces to grow vegetables successfully in land far away from the village site. His experience was that the people there depended much less on vegetables for their diet than in Bengal.

With regard to fruit growing he did not know how the position had changed in recent years, but when he was a young officer in the U.P. the peasant had great difficulty in planting fruit trees because the moment he did so the landlord made him clear out. He hoped this had been changed. Unless, therefore, legal and social changes were brought about it was difficult to make appreciable progress.

With regard to smallholdings and scattered holdings the laws of inheritance would have to be changed among both Hindus and Muslims before this difficulty could be overcome, because every son expected a share of his father's property. All these different problems would have to be tackled if we wanted to improve the production of food in India.

SIR AMBERSON MARTEN said that as regards fish he was delighted on revisiting Bombay a few years ago to find a new system by which carriers collected fish from the fishing vessels, thus saving many hours in delivery. And with modern air-conditioned or refrigerator vans on railways it was easier to transport fish throughout the country. There was plenty of fish in the Bombay area available to meet this food want, except in the monsoons.

As to fruit, one of the difficulties was the fragmentation of land. Speaking as a lawyer he thought the Hindu joint family system largely responsible for this; and speaking as a fruit grower it made the planting of trees difficult. It took time; the trees could not be planted one year and crop the next. All fruit trees were not the same. The best varieties should be planted, and expert advice was necessary on how they could best be grown and manured.

Sir John had said that considerable planning by experts would be necessary. Valuable work was done at experimental stations, but there must be a link between the expert at the research station and the actual grower. In England this link was now provided by the county councils in the person of a commercial fruit or crop adviser who visited the farms. Farms were not all the same, even two fields on the same farm might be different, and the expert had to know the class of soil which would grow certain classes of trees or crops. How were they to get the expert in India, particularly in the tiny fields owned by a Hindu family? The best way to win people over was for the Government to have experimental farms and to appoint travelling experts who would persuade cultivators to experiment for themselves. Financial success would soon bring recruits. He was delighted to hear that the food experts once more favoured fruit, after discouraging it at the outset of war. But in Bombay they had also to consider their important cotton, paddy, and cocoanut crops.

He hoped this extraordinarily valuable lecture would have its effect in India in making the people look ahead, and that his own Province of Bombay would no longer be a "deficit" province as regards grain.

Mr. BRANDER supported Sir Atul Chatterjee's criticism of the volume of food production. Sir John Russell had quoted with approval Sir David Meek's view that this production had kept pace with the increase of population. But the Food Member, Sir Azizul Huque, lately stated (vide *Cmd.* 6479, October, 1943) that the main food grain production had remained practically constant between 50 and 51 million tons, while the population increased from 311 millions in 1910-11 to 388 millions in 1941, and in Bengal the average *per capita* rice production, formerly 384 lbs., was, owing to increase of population, now only 283 lbs.

He also wished to criticize the conclusions of the Hot Springs Food Conference, which proclaimed that freedom from want was obtainable for all peoples, and set up a programme for increasing world food supply, without saying a word as to the necessity for simultaneously limiting growth of population. The Royal Commission on Indian Agriculture stated that all its proposed improvements would merely postpone the growing pressure of population on the soil. Eminent population experts

and scientists, such as Carr-Saunders, R. A. Fisher, Julian Huxley and Sir John Megaw, had pointed out that no permanent improvement could be had in the absence of general birth control. Sir Leonard Hill lately said: "Freedom from want in India and China can be obtained only by education and a wise measure of birth control." Dr. Blacklock, in the *British Medical Journal* of December 25, 1943, states similarly. J. S. Mill long ago said that science could never elevate the universal lot until the increase of mankind came under deliberate guidance.

The reasons were obvious. Backward populations always multiplied up to the margin of subsistence. The problem was essentially a biological one. Mankind, though agricultural experts ignored the fact, tended like other animals and plants to increase in geometrical, but food supply, in spite of scientific improvements, only in arithmetical, progression. Semi-starvation, with Nature's periodical reduction of surplus population by famine, epidemic and natural calamities thus remained the lot of more than half the human race. Western Europe and North America have, by conscious birth control since 1876, largely solved the problems of over-population and consequent poverty. The practical policy for Asia was to follow this example. In fact, while economic progress should be pursued, the simultaneous promotion by the intelligentsia and governments of general birth control was far more important, for it would produce the maximum economic and health improvement in the minimum time.

SIR GEOFFREY BRACKEN asked whether too much emphasis was laid on the production of so-called money crops as against the food crops. For instance, the cultivation of sugar cane had been boosted very much in recent years. Sugar was food to some extent, but jute growing had also been boosted. As not enough food was grown in India, had the Government made a mistake in laying so much emphasis on the production of the "money" crops?

SIR JOHN WOODHEAD said that it seemed that the production of cereals—rice, wheat and millet—had kept pace fairly well with the increase in population, but that malnutrition in India was largely due to deficiency in the other articles which contributed to a well-balanced diet, such as vegetables, fruit and milk. Could Sir John explain in a little more detail how it would be possible to increase the supply of vegetables, fruit and milk without encroaching upon the supply of articles which gave the population the necessary number of calories?

Great endeavours had been made in his own Province of Bengal to increase the milk supply but with little result. The difficulty appeared to be food for the cattle. In Eastern Bengal where there was fodder the cattle were good, but in Western Bengal, away from the area which was fertilized every year by the silt from the rivers, the cattle immediately deteriorated, due to the fact that they were underfed. The problem of the milk supply was certainly a problem of more food for the cattle, a problem which had not yet been solved.

MR A. H. BYRT said he would like to throw a gleam of optimism upon the rather gloomy picture presented by earlier speakers. Sir John had emphasized the need for better and more milk and an increased production of vegetables and fruit. He had also pointed out that to satisfy it required the highest moral standards and resolution of the rural classes. In regard to all these problems a new era was opened up with the recommendations of the Royal Commission on Agriculture in India. The Commissioners stressed that the foundation of India's prosperity was the cultivator's bullock, and they issued a special warning against the fallacy that the Indian milk problem could be solved by the importation of foreign bulls of heavy milking breeds. For all such matters they urged the Government of India to engage the services of an expert adviser in animal husbandry. This the Government of India did and they were fortunate to secure Sir Arthur Olver, one of the foremost experts in the world. Outstanding achievements of his were a survey of the Indian cattle breeds and their possibilities and the establishment of the All-India Cattle Show, now annually held in Delhi. His survey showed that there were various herds of Indian cattle producing milk in greater quantity and substantially richer in butter fat than the good com-

mercial herds in Europe. He made plain that by proper feeding and management, such as is possible in India, Indian milch cattle generally can be raised to the highest standards. The Cattle Show is a standing object lesson in all this and is already exerting great influence.

The Hon. Sir Firoz Khan Noon, Member for Defence in the Viceroy's Executive Council, in a speech as recently as March 3 to the Re-Settlement and Re-Employment Policy Committee of the Reconstruction Committee set up by the Government of India, showed what far-reaching proposals for carrying forward practical agricultural reform are now in the air. These developments, Mr. Byrt concluded, showed that the right ideas were abroad in India of the present day, and all knew that the Indian peasant was quick to take advantage of new methods when their value was shown to him and their adoption by him was made possible.

Sir JOHN RUSSELL, in reply to the discussion, said that he had no information regarding the proportion of the food production to the population at present. Although Thomas and Sastry's book was quite recent, they obviously had not the data available to enable them to carry out investigations into present conditions.

It was a slow process inducing a population to change its dietary habits, but the war might accelerate it. The soldiers would be returning with new ideas and the work being done by some of the societies for improving conditions in India was having its effect. He hoped this work would continue. One of the best ways of improving the diet was to feed the children at school and they took home the ideas which they picked up.

He knew that Sir Malcolm Darling had recommended the production of more milk, vegetables and fruit many years ago, and he was particularly interested to hear him say that he had discovered from observation that co-operation was not enough, that there must be education. Sir Malcolm also emphasized the need for health. He spoke about the wider cultivation of vegetables, but it was of little use to advocate this generally; one would have to state which vegetables should be planted because they differed enormously in nutritive value. India had not a great margin of potentialities and could not afford to produce food of low nutritive value. One of the failures of the past had been that nutrition experts did not come sufficiently into the picture. They could not because nutritional science was the newest of the sciences, but experts were now in a position to say much more definitely what vegetables it was better to grow.

Fragmentation of land occurred in many countries; it was one of the difficulties in Eastern Europe until the outbreak of war. The only way of completely preventing it would be to change the laws of inheritance in some way or other, each country adopting its own methods of procedure. Without doing anything so drastic, however, it was still possible to fasten modern methods of production and standards of requirement on to some of the old methods of organization and carrying on of the social life and economic business of the community.

The great difficulty in milk production in India was that there was not enough food for the cattle, and several speakers asked whether in producing other crops the grain crops would be reduced. He did not think this would necessarily happen. In the U.S.S.R. the growth of grain had decreased proportionately to the growth of the population, but that did not mean that the total food production had gone down. Mr. Brander had referred to that. The figures on which Sir David Meek worked referred to all foods, and if the population consumed more of other food it did not require so much grain. Further, as agriculture widened so the productiveness of the soil increased and there was a bigger production per acre. This was the experience of all countries including our own.

Sir Atul Chatterjee insisted on the need for bringing these things home to the peasant, and Sir Amberson Marten referred to the same problem. It was vitally important. This was one of the main items in his report to the Imperial Agricultural Research Council. There was a big difference between what happened on the experimental farm and what happened on the cultivator's land, and it seemed more important that this gulf should be bridged than that it should be widened by getting still bigger yields on the experimental farms when the peasant was not utilizing the

knowledge already offered to him. That was the problem to be tackled, the need for education of the peasant.

He was very interested in the question which Sir Geoffrey Bracken raised regarding cash crops. He thought the Indian Government might look into the question when peace came as to whether it would not be better to use some of the sugar cane land for the intensive production of some of the foods which were so vitally important. He recognized that the circumstances in which the Government decided to cultivate sugar justified its action at that time, but now that the need for other crops was so clearly indicated the question might be looked into again. The sugar crop had served India very well.

In conclusion, Sir John Russell expressed his gratitude to the members for raising so many points and to the Association for inviting him to read a paper on the problem which was the most important in the whole range of Indian problems.

Sir JOHN HUBBACK proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Sir John Russell for his paper and to Sir Henry Craik for presiding, and remarked that the lecture had given them much food for thought.

INDIA AND A REGIONAL COUNCIL FOR THE TROPICAL FAR EAST

By J. S. FURNIVALL, I.C.S. (RETD.)

It is my privilege today to invite your attention to a very difficult problem of great urgency: the future of South-East Asia. You will remember that this was the subject of a stimulating address to this Association by Sir George Schuster last December. He then discussed the advantages which might accrue to India from participation in some kind of a Council dealing with this region. Today, on his suggestion, we are considering the matter from the opposite point of view, and propose to examine the advantages which might accrue to any such Council from Indian participation. Sir George himself would probably admit that his was the easier task. He was indulging in political speculation, but he did at least start from solid earth, from India. The Council is an airy nothing. We must not merely give it a local habitation and a name, but determine its structure and functions; only then can we discuss its relations with India. That is a great deal to compress into about half an hour, and I hope that in trying to be brief I shall not be obscure.

As regards the local habitation of the Council, I would submit that a Regional Council should represent a region with some natural organic unity, or, like so many of our attempts at political construction in the tropics, it will be no more substantial than the scenery in a theatre, accepted as real only by a willing suspension of disbelief. The countries of this region, however, are not just separate units in a fringe along the south-east border of Asia; in their racial stock, cultural heritage, social structure and economic conditions they share in common an organic unity in a definite region which may be appropriately distinguished as the Tropical Far East. I would like, if time allowed, to emphasize that point, but it must suffice to draw attention to one outstanding character of all these countries: among a caste-free people there has grown up under the impact of the modern West a plural society, dominated by economic forces, and comprising numerous distinct sections with rival or contrary economic interests and with nothing in common outside the economic sphere, not even whole-heartedly a common interest in defence against aggression. These, among other features, distinguish the peoples of the Tropical Far East from their neighbours in India, China and Australia. Our task, then, is to conjure up a Regional Council for the Tropical Far East.

FORM AND FUNCTION

Why do we want a Council? Have we any better reason than that just now the term "regional council" is a word of magic, a password to a brave new world. Most of us will remember that the last time we set about building a brave new world the magic word was "self-determination," translated for tropical consumption as "responsible government." But somehow the magic did not work. Burmans hold their water festival as a rain-charm at the end of the hot weather; usually it works—because the rains are due to break. At the end of the rains they charm the sun with a festival of lights, and again the charm works—because the rains are over. Our magicians, or politicians, were less prudent; they performed their magic but did not read the sky. We are poorer now for the loss of some illusions, but are we any wiser? If so we shall have less faith in magic passwords and, in building our Regional Council, will comply with the elementary principle of political science that *form derives from function, and not function from form*.

Those toy watches that we had as children looked to us very like watches; but they did not work. Early attempts at flying machines were made to look like birds; but they would not fly. Form does not give rise to function. When man had found out how to fly, the modern aeroplane rapidly assumed a form determined by its function. This principle applies no less in social than in mechanical engineering, but it has too often been neglected. Political architects, social engineers, have fashioned institutions in the tropics to look as much as possible like those of Europe, in the vain hope that, because they were modelled in the same form, they would function in the same manner. In Burma, for example, sixty years ago we set up municipal committees on a Western plan, with a view to making the people of their own accord do or pay for what they did not want. When the experiment failed we said there must be something wrong with the people. But we tried the same experiment again on a larger scale with a full-sized up-to-date Legislative Assembly. It had a broad democratic basis and all the latest improvements, and it looked as much like a similar institution in England as the circumstances of Burma would allow. It had every merit except that of working. Some reckoned this a merit, as the Government could carry on much as before, so long as it refrained from difficult or contentious measures. In social as in mechanical engineering function does not derive from form, but form from function. One could illustrate the neglect of this principle all over the tropics, and not only under British rule. Have we as yet really learned the lesson? Shall we apply it in creating Regional Councils? In the excellent pamphlet on "International Action and the Colonies," published by the Fabian Colonial Bureau, we are told that "when it comes to the actual establishment of a Regional Commission there are two sets of practical questions to examine: first, the constitution of the Commission, and, second, its functions." But which comes first, form or functions?

One advantage of proceeding from function to form is that our attention is directed more closely to what we want. Humanitarian ideals are all very well, but, in the words of the Colonial Secretary, we "want the machinery to be real, not to be a nice theory or a pretty picture, but something which grapples with realities and really gets down to the facts of the problem." We are probably better judges of our own interests than we are of other people's. We may be mistaken—only too often are mistaken—as to what we really want and how best to get it; but at least we think we know what we want. We can only guess what other people want. It is possible, of course, that, having decided where our interest lies, we may on some ground of higher principle be willing to forego it; but we shall at least know where we need moral strengthening to be delivered from the temptation to prefer our interest. In any case, we cannot avoid a bias, even if an unconscious bias, and we shall certainly, whatever we do, be regarded by others as consulting our own interest, while we are more likely to create an effective living Council if we look to it as an instrument for furthering our interests. Let us therefore as briefly as possible examine the functions of the proposed Council from the strictly practical realistic standpoint of our interest as Europeans and Englishmen or, if you prefer it, Britishers.

FUNCTIONS

As regards the functions of the Council, there seems to be general agreement that, at least in the first instance, it would be merely a local agent charged with exercising on behalf of a World Council or other global organization some measure of supervision over the particular governments within the region, and with offering advice and assistance to those governments if they should consult it. We may accept this view of its character and pass on to examine which it should do or try to do.

Here we must be on our guard against easy idealism. Mr. Panikkar, for instance, in his interesting essay on *The Future of South-East Asia*, though realistic in his study of Indian problems, lays down "essential principles of colonial administration" that are much easier to propound than to apply. "The first of these principles *should* be that the sovereignty of the area belongs to the people." Secondly, the local population *should* be freed from the bondage to industrial fluctuations elsewhere. Thirdly, "a progressive policy of education, public health and social consolidation *should* be followed." "Fourthly, there *should* be no racial or colour discrimination in these areas." "And, finally, the colonial power *should* train the people for their own defence." These are the principles which he suggests for the guidance of the Regional Council. But who wants these things? Who is going to do them? Who will pay to have them done? Are they desirable, and, if so, why? Are they even possible? I think that if Mr. Panikkar had a free hand to run a country of the Tropical Far East on these lines he would soon find that he needed two hands, to pull in opposite directions.

If we turn to Lord Hailey's views we find a more realistic touch. In the project of a Pacific Council put before the International Conference at Mont Tremblant in Canada in 1942 he suggested that such a Council would be the local agent of a world organization for safeguarding peace, for assisting economic development, and for promoting self-governing institutions and an improvement in the standard of living. Here we are on more solid ground. We all want security and peace. We all want the natural resources of the tropics to be developed as fast and as fully as is consistent with security and peace. And we all have a practical, if more remote, interest in promoting the welfare of tropical peoples. Let us examine rather more closely the functions of the Regional Council in respect of Peace, Progress and Welfare.

PEACE

The chief reason for outside interest in the Tropical Far East, the reason why we are discussing it today, is that it is a focus of stresses and tensions which endanger peace. Sir George Schuster directed our attention to it as a storm centre, and regarded the problem of its future mainly from the standpoint of security. As Mr. Panikkar says: "Obviously the peace of the world has become to a very large extent dependent on the fate of this area. Every major Power in Europe and Asia, excepting Germany and the Soviets, is involved in the settlement of this problem." He argues that colonial Powers based on Europe are no longer able to defend this region; for many years the local peoples will be unable to defend themselves, and it is necessary, therefore, to take India as the basis of a system which will, in the first place, ensure the security of South-East Asia. Similarly it is "security" that the Colonial Secretary places first among the problems calling for international co-operation.

I must confess to some mistrust of the word "security" in this connection; it savours rather of "securities," investments, foreign capital. Formerly the entire direction and control of economic life within this region—and some would say of political life also—lay with foreign capital. The old interests may not reappear in exactly the same shape, but after the war foreign capital will again be active in developing the oil, tin, wolfram and so on. When we talk of ensuring security in the Tropical Far East, are we thinking of security for foreign capital? Can we ensure security for foreign capital? We cannot trust indigenous troops to defend it. If we hire foreign troops, our supplies of oil, etc., will be more costly and in the long run—not perhaps a very long run—will be cut short by rebellion. We can ensure a temporary security with foreign troops, but it will be the security of Macbeth, "mortal's chiefest enemy."

The development of these countries with foreign capital is necessary because we want the oil and tin and other produce. But the owners and shareholders in capitalist enterprises will tend to think more about security for capital than about peace for the world. If the former allows them to make larger profits, to get their produce more cheaply and charge us more dearly, their particular interests are vocal and are likely to prevail over the silent, unorganized general interest. But if we as members of the general public understand our interest and can get our way, we shall expect the Regional Council to promote peace rather than security. If we would organize these countries for the maintenance of peace, we must enlist their co-operation in maintaining it, and train the peoples in arms, not, as Mr. Panikkar suggests, finally and on altruistic grounds, but as a matter of the first importance in our own interest. That implies, as Lord Hailey recognizes, that we must try to promote among them "the status which will give them both the incentive and the means to organize for their defence." It implies also the recognition of that status by capitalist enterprise—that capitalism shall recognize the prior claim of nationalism. As an agency for the safeguarding of peace the first objective of the Regional Council must be to help the countries of the Tropical Far East to attain and maintain autonomy.

PROGRESS

Peace, of course, is desirable in itself; and it is essential if we are to develop the material resources of these countries and open them up as markets for our goods. Obviously it is in the general interest that they should furnish us with all they can and that we should be able to sell them all that they can pay for. In the name of economic progress we want free access to them for capital and labour. But everyone recognizes now that the natural consequence of economic freedom in the tropics is spoliation and not development; the people are killed off, the natural resources wasted, and the end is not progress but stagnation. Experience has taught us that, in our own interest as consumers, and in the interest of capitalist enterprise itself, economic forces must be brought under control. We have, in fact, had some success in bringing them under control in the interest of progress. But how far does that take us, and to what principle can we appeal if not to the principle of profit?

Note merely the heads of a few problems, and see how racial difference aggravates economic tension. Take the supply and protection of labour. How can one regulate the supply of Indian and Chinese labour with due regard to the interests of the natives and of foreign capital? Or labour-welfare. Asiatics differ from Europeans in their ideas and standards of welfare, and they cannot afford the amenities provided by European enterprise with large capital resources. Are we to push up welfare in the interest of European big business to the prejudice of Indian and Chinese employers? Economic competition cuts at profits as well as wages. How far shall capitalists be allowed to combine to defend their profits, or hold up the price of, say, rubber by restricting native cultivation, to the detriment of American and other consumers? Or, again, what about markets? Are the dependencies to be thrown open freely to Indian and Chinese produce? All these and many other problems, long pressing for solution, became urgent when Japan entered the modern world, and they will be still more difficult in proportion as India and China grow stronger and stand out as major Powers, possibly in mutual rivalry, but certainly with many common interests against Europe and America. We cannot solve these problems by any economic formula because, like most economic problems, they are not purely economic. We must go outside the sphere of economics to find some principle to which we can appeal. We must promote among these peoples "a status which will give them both the incentive and the means to organize for their own defence"—not merely military self-defence, but economic self-defence. The only principle which all parties will recognize as of superior validity to economic forces is nationalism, and if we understand our own interest and can get our way, then, for the sake of economic progress, we shall look to the Regional Council to promote autonomy.

WELFARE

The third function of the Regional Council in Lord Hailey's project is to promote welfare, political and economic. That is a pious aspiration, but people who are half the world away cannot touch us very closely unless they touch our pockets. In our own interest we want to ensure conditions that will prevent the spread of diseases of men, crops and cattle; we want capitalist enterprise in the tropics to have an ample supply of healthy labour; and we want good sanitation in the commercial centres, the larger towns. To some extent we can enforce these conditions by welfare legislation. But anything beyond that must come from the people themselves. During the past thirty years Malaya has probably spent more on welfare in proportion to its resources than any British Dependency, and nowhere are conditions likely to be more favourable. There has been a great improvement in the towns and on capitalist enterprises, but apparently little or no change among the great mass of the Malay natives in the villages. Formerly, says Mr. Mills, the Malay was a poor man in a poor country; now he is a poor man in a rich country. You cannot make a man well against his will, or teach children who do not want to learn. What is true of self-defence and progress is equally true of welfare: "we must promote a status which will give the people the incentive and the means to organize for their own welfare." Our interest in their welfare is remote and indirect; welfare should enable them to produce more and consume more, though not directly for our benefit. But, so far as we have an interest in promoting welfare, the way to it lies through autonomy.

We must distinguish, however, between promoting autonomy (self-government) and promoting "self-governing institutions." Parliamentary institutions as we know them grew up as a device to check an over-strong executive. In the tropics they serve to make the weak executive of foreign rule still weaker. Self-governing institutions, as usually understood, tend in the tropics to prevent self-government. We can introduce the *form* of self-governing institutions, and multiply racial strife and make self-government impossible. We have done so repeatedly. Introduce self-government and the Dependency will develop its own institutions—with the Regional Council assisting to place them on a more stable and democratic basis by encouraging the people to demand world standards of hygiene and education, and helping them to attain economic and military power that will make for progress and promote stability.

THE REGIONAL COUNCIL AND INDIA

Before discussing the composition of the Regional Council and its relations with India it may be well to recapitulate the argument. There has grown up in these countries under the impact of the West a plural society with no common social will, dominated by economic forces, and comprising numerous racial sections with rival or contrary economic interests, with nothing in common outside the economic sphere, unable to stand alone, and held together only by pressure from outside. In the interest of peace, economic progress and our own material welfare it is of vital importance to us to foster in each country a common social will strong enough to join in supporting a government that, by protecting and controlling the component sections, can maintain internal order; that will voluntarily accept the duty of self-defence and also voluntarily accept a world minimum of hygiene and education; and that, so far as may be consistent with these obligations, will allow everyone free access to materials and markets. The Regional Council I conceive as an agent of a world organization for promoting our interest in these matters.

Where it is not possible to establish a government capable of maintaining internal order the country must necessarily remain under tutelage as a *dependency*, presumably of the former colonial Power. In such cases there would be periodical reports to the Regional Council, as suggested by Lord Hailey; not, however, on the progress made in forming "self-governing institutions" or on any other "nice theory or pretty picture," but, "grappling with reality," on the progress made towards self-government by recruiting a local defence force and in transforming Western enterprise along nationalist lines.

In some cases it would be possible for a government to maintain order with the

aid of foreign troops. Thus a Philippine Government might be able, with the help of American troops, to comply with the conditions essential to autonomy as summarized above. Such countries would have the status of *conditional independence*, and periodical reports would show the progress achieved in substituting local for foreign troops.

A country which, like Thailand before the present war, could maintain internal order without the help of foreign troops, would be capable of *independence*. But until the plural society had been finally resolved into a national society its ability to stand alone would be precarious. It would need the moral support and potentially the active support of the Regional Council.

Dependencies and countries with a status of conditional independence would need foreign troops: Dutch, presumably, in Netherlands India, British in British territories, French in Indo-China, and in Siam . . . ? How would these troops be engaged, and under what conditions? How far would it be possible, if necessary, to use Indian or Chinese troops? Would India or China *demand* a share in providing troops?

The chief cause of instability in these countries is the existence within the plural society of racial groups with conflicting interest. Complaints of unfair treatment would come before the Regional Council. How would it act? How would it enforce any decisions?

The normal function of the Council would be to assist the several governments to solve the problems connected with self-defence, hygiene, education and representative and responsible government. There has been little scientific, comparative, study of these matters, and the Council would have to work out a technique.

All these things bear on the constitution of the Council and its relations with India. The problems of the Tropical Far East are quite distinct from those of India, China and Australia. Representatives of those countries would have no personal knowledge of the routine business of the Regional Council for the Tropical Far East. It would seem well, then, to confine the Council to the countries of the region and to start with a very simple organization, gradually enlarging it as required. One delegate from each government in the region, with a representative of the World Council as President, should at first suffice.

Security and some other problems are common to a wider area. Both India and China have a special interest in the region as supplying both capital and labour. But the proper place for discussing problems common to a wider area would seem to be in some council representing various regions such as, in addition to the Tropical Far East, the Pacific, China and the Far East, India and Ceylon, Australia.

Here, then, in brief is the thesis that I submit for your consideration: that there should be a small Regional Council dealing with affairs proper to the region, and a wider Council, say, of the Pacific or the Indian Ocean, or of Asia for matters of more than peculiarly local concern. I fear that in trying to be brief I have left unsaid much that I should have said, but this has the advantage of leaving more scope for discussion.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Wednesday, March 29, 1944, at Caxton Hall, Caxton Street, S.W. 1, when Mr. J. S. FURNIVALL, I.C.S. (RETD.), read a paper entitled "India and a Regional Council for the Tropical Far East." Sir FREDERICK WHYTE, K.C.S.I., presided.

The CHAIRMAN, in introducing Mr. Furnivall, said that he had spent a lifetime in Burma, and there was no one who could speak with greater authority both on the

internal circumstances of that country and of the surrounding areas of South-East Asia, or, indeed, on the more general subject about which he was to speak that afternoon.

Mr. FURNIVALL then read his paper.

The CHAIRMAN said that there were a variety of aspects in the problem which had been laid before the meeting by Mr. Furnivall, all of which were important. There were certain broad resemblances between India, China and Tropical East Asia. They were all, in varying degree, moved by the force of Asiatic nationalism, but they were, in some other respects, quite unlike one another. He was doubtful whether there was a permanent and constructive relationship between India and Far East Asia, despite the religious influence which India had once so powerfully exercised. It was not possible to say at the present moment whether, when India reached the stage of having a real Government of her own, she would, in fact, turn more to the West or to the East. He did not think they should attempt to deal with that question, but there were certain factors which enabled something to be said about it. It had to be remembered that they were approaching it with a Western prepossession, and that the nationalist Governments in China or India owed their main incentive to what might be called modernism or nationalism. When India had in fact laid the foundations of her own Government with a truly autonomous structure, he was inclined to think that the circumstances which had linked India with the Western world so closely for the past 150 years or more would continue to operate. It was an open question, but there was one factor which should not be underrated, which was that all the evidence now available showed there was not very much in common except the fact of Asiatic nationalism between nationalist China and India. They were actually working towards very different forms of nationalist self-government. Although, for the moment, these two great representatives of Asia appeared to be one—they were at one chiefly in their desire to establish a régime of their own against what had been called Western imperialism—in essence and in themselves there was not a great community of thought or purpose.

Mr. Furnivall laid great emphasis on the importance of designing the instrument for the purpose which was not only political but economical, cultural and social, in terms of the function which it was designed to perform. That could not only be established on a purely geographical basis, nor could it be established on some pre-conceived form which had no relation to the function which it had to discharge, and he suggested that one feature which he hoped would be prominent in the discussion would be to examine the functions that a Regional Council would have to perform.

Returning to the Indian situation, they must enquire into the purposes common to the Far East and to India, for which a Regional Council should be brought into existence. A good deal could be done to clarify the general relation between India and South-East Asia and the Far East generally, and also to clarify in terms of the function to be performed by a Council. There might ultimately be a set of different instruments, which might turn out not to be Regional Councils, but international organs which would derive their scope, not from the lines drawn on the map, but from the purposes to be served, whether those purposes were cultural, economical or political. If the different interests of this wide area were considered, it would be seen that, although a Regional Council for South-East Asia or a Council for the Far East might have fairly easily defined purposes to serve, nevertheless to serve the fundamental interests of the three areas would require an organization which had nothing to do with local geographical considerations. No matter what views might be held about militarist Japan, it was obvious that the problem of Japan could not be solved by leaving it within the circle of the Regional Council of the Far East. Japan, like all other problems, could only be treated on a world-wide basis and, moreover, on a basis derived from a close study of the peculiar necessities of the Japanese position, especially those of her economic life.

Mr. H. VERE REDMAN said that the term "South-East Asia" impinged upon his particular province, Japan, because the whole of this area was at present occupied by

the Japanese, and, while he had enjoyed the stimulating paper which Mr. Furnivall had read, with its study of political machinery, he wished to draw attention only to those factors in the situation which were concerned with that fact. Whatever machinery was set up in South-East Asia after the war it would have to take into account what the Japanese had succeeded in doing to the populations of those areas during their occupation. What had they done which was attractive and what that was unattractive? This must be studied so that in our own way we could imitate the one and eschew the other.

Evidence so far available showed that the things the Japanese had done which were attractive to the peoples of South-East Asia were the symbols of local nationalism, in the distribution of which Japan was so extremely prolific. Burma was a case in point. While it was probably clear to most outside judges that the so-called Burmese national institutions brought in by the Japanese were very little short of a farce and that Japanese control was there all the time, it was undoubtedly most impressive to the Burmese to see a national flag and an apparently Burmese army. *Mutatis mutandis*, the Japanese had done much the same thing in most of the territories which they had occupied. Proposers of Regional Councils should bear in mind the establishment of such institutions and realize that the peoples would have been very pleased by these things and would resent it if they were taken away by any subsequent régime.

With regard to Japanese things which were unattractive, the evidence so far available tended to show that Japanese interference in all the comings and goings in the various occupied places was what was most resented. It was extremely difficult for a Japanese, and particularly for a Japanese official, military or civil, to leave anybody alone for a quarter of an hour a day. He must be continually checking up his people to see that they did everything at the right time and according to certain specified conditions, and this Japanese interference with the ordinary social life of the people which got on people's nerves was obviously something to be avoided. If machinery could be devised which, while being effective, would leave people alone, we should have effectively applied the lessons to be learned from the fact that the region under discussion had been in occupation by the Japanese.

Mr. GODFREY NICHOLSON, M.P., said that certain irreconcilable facts in the Tropical Far East had to be faced. There was a great desire for nationalism, yet none of these countries were capable of defending themselves or of raising or maintaining a modern army, nor were they capable of furnishing their own capital, and that was the great difference between them and India. India could form magnificent fighting forces and could maintain them under modern conditions, and in the course of time would become a considerable exporter of capital. What Mr. Redman had said regarding the necessity of providing the symbols of independence and the fullest measure of independence as far as the inhabitants wished to go, or were disposed to go, was essential. What he said about conditions in Burma was true: the Japanese had made a real concession to the *armour propre* of the Burmese, and perhaps had done the same thing in all the Indonesian countries. There would be a great necessity for capital for reconstruction in these countries after the Japanese had retired. This was one problem.

The second problem would be the one mentioned above—namely, that if the confidence of these people was to be recaptured they must be given far more of the symbols of independence. With those points of view in mind, he ventured to criticize some of what Mr. Furnivall and the Chairman had said. They would be entering a dangerous world of wishful thinking if they began by propagating the functions of a Far Eastern Council in this country. A Council of this nature must grow up out of the desires of the various countries to co-operate; all the errors of the League of Nations would be repeated if any other method was followed. The prime error of the League of Nations was that there was the form of power without any of its realities. What nations were there in the Tropical Far East who were able or willing to exert themselves in order to maintain peace and preserve security? (Peace and security were not antithetical, they were one and the same thing.) First of all, there was this country, then there was the Netherlands. The Council, then, should start as

an informal Council set up by Great Britain and the Netherlands. It would be concerned with those subjects which would be the reserved subjects in each one of the tropical dependencies, one of which was defence. For instance, whatever measure of independence Burma was given she would not be prepared to provide contingents of modern forces which would be fit to fight any aggressor in the Far East, and her external security would come under the Council.

India would come into the picture from the beginning with regard to immigration and movements of people, for the supply of labour as between these tropical dependencies must be a subject for the Council. Thirdly, it must deal with fiscal questions, for there must be some measure of common fiscal policy. It was the speaker's firm conviction that if an attempt was made to build the Council in this country and take it out to the Far East it would be a dangerous farce. It must be a natural growth on the spot. Peace could only be maintained by a strong alliance between those nations who were ready to pay the price for it and if the countries who would have to make the sacrifices would come together.

Sir JOSIAH CROSBY said that he was more disposed to agree with Mr. Furnivall than with the last speaker, but he thought Mr. Furnivall's suggestion for a Regional Council specifically confined to South-East Asia did not cover enough ground. It would be a pity if there were too many Regional Councils, and he was inclined to agree with Lord Hailey's conception of a Council which would deal with the whole Pacific area. He would like to see two branch Councils, one for the Northern Area and one for the Southern Area, which would include South-East Asia. India should be represented on the latter Council, just as China would be represented on the Northern Council. There was, however, no reason why India should not be represented on any other Council which might deal with the specific region of the Indian Ocean, just as China would be represented on any Regional Councils for both the Northern and Southern Pacific, but he felt that the larger basis of a Regional Council would be necessary because the questions with which it would be called upon to deal would be questions of greater import than could be dealt with by the countries themselves. Such matters as the general access to raw materials, emigration from China and India, defence and security, were all matters not confined to the South-East Asiatic countries themselves. The suggestion of a Regional Council was practical and happy, provided, of course, that it was made possible in the first instance by the formation of a wider world organization, as the agent for which it would act. One of the principal functions of such a Council would be that of arbitration and of adjusting differences between the nations of South-East Asia. As those nations gradually attained the goal of full autonomy they were not unlikely to quarrel among themselves, and it was desirable that there should be some controlling authority which would keep the peace among them.

As for India's connection with South-East Asia, it was to be based on three main considerations, one of them being defence, arising out of the propinquity of India to South-Eastern Asia; the second had to do with trade and commerce; and, thirdly, there was the question of emigration. He would like the problem to be viewed more from the standpoint of the South-Eastern Asiatics themselves. In all these discussions the point of view of the peoples themselves was not sufficiently understood, but if he were a Burman or a Siamese he would welcome Indian representation on a Regional Council, if only as a make-weight against other Powers. For example, China would not improbably press certain claims in South-Eastern Asia rather persistently in the future, and it would be a good thing if a seat were assigned to India on the Regional Council concerned. He would go further and say that the South-Eastern Asiatic Council, above all, welcome as participators in such a Regional Council the major Western Powers, Great Britain and the United States in particular, and he would quote a remark of a free Siamese who had said to him recently that when the war was over China would emerge as a strong Asiatic Power, there would be an independent India which might prove to be somewhat aggressive, and the little countries such as Siam would stand in an invidious position between the two. What chance would those little countries have, the free Siamese had asked, if there was no authority in the background to hold the balance?

There were two other points, the first of which was that he did not agree with Mr. Furnivall as to the lack of homogeneity among all the populations of South-Eastern Asia. The inhabitants of Siam were homogeneous enough as regards the 12 millions out of a total of 15 millions among them who were of Thai race, and a similar thing could be said with respect to Burma, but not to Malaya, where the Chinese and Indians between them outnumbered the Malays. Secondly, he viewed with some misgiving the suggestion that the South-Eastern Asiatic countries should be encouraged to organize armies in their own defence. He based this on two considerations. In the first place, if these countries, when achieving independence, became more self-assertive (as was probable), the existence of standing armies of considerable strength would in itself be a provocative factor and a temptation to aggression from one side or the other. The second reason was one of internal politics. Siam had had a system of conscription for over half a century, and had an army of more than 100,000 men. What was the result? It was that soon after the liberal revolution of 1932, which established a constitutional régime in Siam, the military element took control and set up what was virtually a military dictatorship. If that sort of thing could happen in Siam, it could happen in Burma or in any other of the countries under discussion as well, so that for the sake of the political development of these little territories it was undesirable to encourage them to raise national forces except for police purposes and for maintaining internal order. It was not for nothing that, just before he left Siam, men of intelligence and experience among the Siamese themselves were beginning to deprecate the existence of the relatively strong Siamese armed forces.

Mr. POLAK said that one of the easiest but one of the most undesirable things to do was to Balkanize areas, a tendency towards which had shown itself in Far-Eastern Asia already. There was with the rise of nationalism too large a sense of exclusiveness and too little sense of the interests and rights of other peoples. There was also a tendency to ignore some of the effects of the war. When he was in America some months ago he had the privilege of talking to a distinguished Indian gentleman who had spent some time in China. One of the things he said which aroused the speaker's interest, but certainly did not astonish him, was that some of the Chinese military men were already thinking in terms of the old Chinese imperialism, which had not been forgotten after many centuries in the South-Eastern Asiatic countries. There was an illustration of it, if the news were true, in the claim to a part of Northern Burma which China today occupied. This kind of thing might be in the minds of some prominent Chinese, not necessarily in the mind of the Generalissimo, in regard to other parts of South-Eastern Asia.

In several of these countries there were minority elements which had a very important background of national origin—for instance, the Chinese and the Indians. If they were not going to be regarded as nationals of the countries in which they were now living, they would naturally turn to their countries of origin for help. They would insist upon being treated with respect in one capacity or another, and any Regional Committee or Commission would have to take things like that into consideration. It was not so long ago since there was the unpleasant spectacle of great tension between India and Burma, and similar situations might quite easily arise in regard to Malaya or in respect of the Chinese in the French territories of Indo-China. One did not wish to see acute racial and international tensions of that kind arising, and it seemed to the speaker that some larger organization than a local Regional Council would be necessary to take cognizance of all these potential difficulties and dangers.

Mr. L. AIRD said that Mr. Furnivall had forecast the existence of two Councils, the smaller Council to be confined to the South-Eastern region to deal with the economic and social building up of what was regarded as a backward area. One of the functions of this Council would be to develop autonomy. Did Mr. Furnivall envisage the kind of autonomy that could properly be regarded as a Balkanization of the area? Presumably the present political units were artificial and were partly the results of the chances of history, but, if genuine movements of autonomy were likely

to develop, were they likely to make for greater union than that which now existed, or were they likely to split the whole area in the way that Mr. Polak suggested?

Mr. FURNIVALL, in reply, with reference to the suggestion that there should be a Council for some wider area, with a Committee for the South-Eastern region, said that the proposal did not seem to differ much from his suggestion for a Council for that region, to be linked up with a wider Council. With regard to the lack of homogeneity in the area, he admitted that there were 12 million Siamese, but in Burma all the industry and commerce was carried on by non-Burmese, and very much the same condition applied in Siam. This gave rise to difficulties with the Chinese, and supported the idea of a lack of homogeneity in the area. There were difficult problems which arose out of these racial differences with their economic and national rivalries, and it was for that reason that some Council should be set up which would advise and help in these problems. It need not Balkanize these places; if one looked at another part of Europe, one could see Balticization where small States got on quite happily together.

With regard to Mr. Nicholson's suggestion that these countries should be flooded with capital under the control of Britain and the Netherlands, who would pay the necessary price? In his opinion the necessary price would be a third world war.

Sir GILBERT WILES proposed a vote of thanks to the lecturer and to the Chairman. They had listened with great interest to the conflicting views put forward, but all would be in agreement that thanks should be accorded to Mr. Furnivall for his brilliant paper. Many of them had learned to recognize Sir Frederick Whyte's voice on the air and were glad to have the opportunity of meeting him.

The vote of thanks was accorded by applause and the meeting terminated.

THE INDIAN JUDICIAL SYSTEM: SOME SUGGESTED REFORMS

BY SIR JOHN BEAUMONT, K.C.

I WELCOME for two reasons this opportunity of discussing the Indian Judiciary. In the first place because I think that too little credit has been given to the work of judges in India, and it is satisfactory to find that this Association recognizes their existence. I am not referring to individual judges, or to any particular generation of judges, but to the whole procession of judges who have served on the Indian Benches during the British connection. Indians of every community, and every shade of political thought, have told me on many occasions that the one British institution which Indians really admire is our system of administering justice, and that that system forms the strongest bond between England and India. Making allowance for the courtesy of Indians, which sometimes induces them to say what they believe their audience wants to hear, rather than what they really think, I am satisfied that this view is a true one. Indians do admire our legal system, and they work it themselves in the right spirit.

The credit for the high reputation of English justice in India must go in the first instance to the judges who were sent out from England in the early days. They worked in appalling climatic conditions, with no modern amenities, no medical service worth the name, no facilities for travel, and often with the active hostility of the executive government. The latter feature was particularly prominent in the Supreme Courts of the Presidency towns—the predecessors of the High Courts—where the judges were the King's judges, and Government officials were the servants of the Company, but it is not wholly lacking at the present day. Very few governments really like an independent judge, though the modern practice is to overrule his

decisions by ordinances and other legal means, instead of by merely disregarding them. There is a very interesting book intitled *Bombay in the Time of George IV*, which is founded largely on the diary of the wife of Sir Edward West, the Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Bombay, and gives a good idea of the difficulties and dangers encountered by the judges of those days. It is sad that those who forged so strong and, I believe, lasting a link between England and India should have received so little recognition from their countrymen. The only English judge whose name figures prominently in the history books is Sir Elijah Impey, who is remembered mainly for his quarrels with the Governor-General. At the present time the majority of High Court judges are Indians, and Indians have worthily maintained the high standard inherited from their predecessors.

The other reason why I welcome this opportunity is that certain alterations in the judicial system were introduced by the Government of India Act, 1935, and there has now been some opportunity of forming an opinion as to the merits of such alterations.

THE FEDERAL COURT

The highest court in India is the Federal Court, which is the creation of the Government of India Act. In every Federal constitution a Federal Court is a necessity. Machinery must be provided for settling disputes between the federating units, and between the units and the centre, but it was, I think, a blunder to constitute the Federal Court before Federation was in sight. The Federal scheme envisaged by the Government of India Act has never come into operation, as we all know, and is, I imagine, dead beyond hope of resurrection. The result is that the original jurisdiction of the court has never come into existence, and its work is confined to hearing appeals under Section 205 from decrees or orders of High Courts involving a substantial question of law as to the interpretation of the Government of India Act or any Order in Council made thereunder, and to references made by the Governor-General under Section 213, of which I believe there has been only one.

It is obvious that the class of appeals assigned to the Federal Court could well be heard by the Privy Council, and that if it were necessary to form a Court to hear a reference under Section 213 that could have been done from amongst Chief Justices of the High Courts. The Federal Court is an expensive luxury. The salaries of the three judges amount to Rs. 18,000 per annum, and then there is the cost of the establishment. I have not got exact figures, but I should think that the Court must cost about £25,000 a year, and that its work has averaged only three or four weeks a year since its formation in 1937.

To get over this waste of money and judicial strength, it was suggested that appeals from the High Court should lie to the Federal Court in place of, or as an alternative to, the Privy Council, and the opinions of the High Courts in India were sought on this proposal. I think that Bombay was the only High Court which was against the proposal. We felt that a large number of Federal Court judges would be required to deal with appeals from all the High Courts, that appointments of such judges at present would be influenced by communal and political considerations, and that it would not be possible to constitute a Supreme Court in India which would carry the weight of the Privy Council. The Privy Council can draw upon the highest judicial talent in England, and it is removed from all local contacts and prejudices. I myself felt strongly that it would have been better if appeals from recent decisions of High Courts relating to the legality of Defence of India Rules and ordinances made thereunder, on which a good deal of feeling was generated, had lain to the Privy Council, rather than to the Federal Court.

Whilst we were against making the Federal Court a supreme court of appeal, we suggested transferring to it certain work which would fill up its spare time, and we proposed particularly references under the Indian Income Tax Act. Such references, of which there are a good many every year, lie to the several High Courts which do not always agree as to the construction to be placed on the Income Tax Act. It would seem desirable that an Act affecting taxpayers throughout British India should bear the same meaning throughout the country, and that for this purpose cases arising under it should come before a court having jurisdiction throughout British India.

However, the suggestion has not been adopted, and the Federal Court continues to waste the time of its judges and the money of the public.

On the main question whether the Federal Court should be made a supreme Court of Appeal it must be recognized in favour of the proposal that there are serious drawbacks in a Court of Appeal being situate 6,000 miles from the source of litigation, and to appeals being heard, in consequence, in the absence of the parties and their local advisers. Moreover, there are so many races in India, with so many habits and customs and ways of thought, that local knowledge in a Court of Appeal is desirable, and there cannot be much local knowledge in the Privy Council. For example, a Board of the Privy Council without any representative of Bombay might not appreciate the difference in mentality and habits between Gujerat and Kanara. I have no doubt that in time there will be constituted a Supreme Court of Appeal in India, but the experiment can hardly be tried at the present time, when one does not know the future constitution of India, or what the fate of the Federal Court may be. If India were divided into Hindustan and Pakistan, it is unlikely that the two units would agree on a common Court of Appeal.

THE AGE OF RETIREMENT

Below the Federal Court come the High Courts, of which there is one in each of the Provinces. There are two matters in which I would suggest reform of the High Courts, the first relating to the continuation of the system of appointing judges from the I.C.S., which will be more conveniently discussed when I come to the District Courts; and the other relating to the age of retirement of High Court judges.

Before the Act of 1935 there was no age limit for High Court judges, but after one or two instances in which judges had continued in office when past their work, the Secretary of State had instituted the practice of requiring a judge on appointment to undertake to retire at the age of 60. The advantage of an undertaking as to the age of retirement, as against a statutory obligation, was that there was room for modification. In my own case, for example, I was offered the post of Chief Justice of Bombay when I was over 52, and I said that I would not accept it if I was to give up the work at 60; so my undertaking was made to apply at 65, and my ultimate retirement was postponed for a further year at the request of the Secretary of State. But under the Government of India Act all High Court judges appointed after the Act came into operation are bound to retire at 60, and there is no room for any arrangement. The result, possibly unforeseen, has been that men of a suitable age for appointment are frequently not willing to accept a judgeship. A High Court judge earns his full pension after $11\frac{1}{2}$ years' service, and leave does not count for service. A man must allow for having to take some leave, and no one appointed after the age of $47\frac{1}{2}$ to 48 can hope to earn a full pension. I can call to mind several instances in which a member of the Bombay Bar refused my offer to put his name forward for appointment to the Bench on the ground that he was over 50, and could not afford to be on the shelf at the age of 60 with an inadequate pension. The age limit of a Federal Court judge is 65, and why 60 was fixed upon as the age for retirement of High Court judges I do not know. People no doubt age more quickly in the tropics than in England, but of all the Bombay judges who retired at the age of 60 during my time there was not one, whether English or Indian, who could possibly have been described as past his work. It is a source of serious weakness if suitable members of the Bar refuse the Bench, and appointments have to be made of less suitable members; and it must be borne in mind that the experience which is likely to be gained at the Bar between the ages of, say, 47 and 52 may be invaluable on the Bench. Assuming an age limit to be desirable, as it probably is, I would strongly advocate making the age of retirement 65, possibly with an option to require a judge to retire at 62 if the local Chief Justice advises that he is past his work.

DISTRICT AND SESSIONS JUDGES

Next below the High Courts come the District Courts, of which there is no counterpart in England. Every Province is divided for judicial purposes into districts, and at the head of each district is the District and Sessions judge, a very important person, who is assisted in the heavier districts by one or more assistant judges. As Sessions

judge he has unlimited criminal jurisdiction, and as District judge he hears appeals from the second-class subordinate judges. But he also performs very important administrative duties. He is responsible for the efficient working of all the civil courts in his district, and is the channel through which the High Court exercises its powers of superintendence over the Lower Courts. A good District judge may expect promotion to the High Court, which, for appellate work, always requires some judges with *mofussil* experience. District judges are appointed from the Bar, the Provincial Judicial Service—*i.e.*, by promotion of subordinate judges—and from the Judicial Branch of the I.C.S. I do not know what the position in other provinces may be, but in Bombay and Sind (which have a common I.C.S. cadre) the I.C.S. are entitled to about half the District judgeships. The important question arises whether at the present date it is necessary to retain the I.C.S. judges.

In Bombay the practice is for the local Government every year to post some two members of the I.C.S. of about seven years' standing to the Judicial Branch. The High Court is consulted in the matter, but its views do not always prevail, and Government has often been charged with selecting for the Judicial Branch members of the Service who have not given satisfaction on the Executive side. Sometimes a man is anxious to be transferred to the Judicial Branch, but more often he protests violently against the transfer. This, after all, is natural. A man joins the I.C.S. in order to take part in the government of the country; if he had wanted to be a judge he would have gone to the Bar. Now I do not deny for a moment that many members of the I.C.S. have made excellent judges. Members of the Service are men of ability, who have passed a searching public examination, and they have usually enjoyed a wider general education than members of the Indian Bar. But it can hardly be denied that being a Government servant during the early and impressionable years of training is not the best introduction to the Bench. A judge so trained lacks something of the independent spirit of the Bar. He tends to look at cases from the Government angle, and is reluctant to see any legal objection to practices in which he has taken part. Moreover, never having practised at the Bar, he has not seen other judges at work and noted their strong and weak points; nor as a rule is he skilful in his handling of the Bar. The selection of judges from amongst Government servants is opposed to sound constitutional principles, and can only be justified if there is no other suitable field of selection. In early days that was no doubt the case in India; but the question is whether it is still so, or whether at the present time it is not the fact that the posts of judges can be adequately filled from the Bar. I cannot speak for other Provinces, but I should have had no difficulty in Bombay in securing thoroughly efficient District judges from the Provincial Judicial Service and the Bar, and the best of such judges would, I am sure, have been fit for promotion to the High Court. The Bench is the legitimate goal of the Bar's ambition, and whenever I have been on tour the local Bar have always complained of the lack of promotion open to them. The Bar in India forms no mean part of the literate community; it is influential, and extremely vocal, and it seems foolish to present it with a legitimate and unnecessary grievance. In England if it were the practice to appoint half the County Court Bench, and a good proportion of the High Court Bench, from officials in the Home Office, the English Bar would be by no means silent. In my view the time has come, at any rate in the more advanced Provinces, to abolish the Judicial Branch of the I.C.S., safeguarding of course the interests of those already in the Service. I may observe that the abolition by the Government of India Act of a reservation of a fixed number of seats in the High Courts for the I.C.S. is not likely to make much practical difference. Members of the I.C.S. become District judges at an earlier age than members of the Provincial Service or the Bar, and, being amongst the senior District judges, are always likely to obtain a good proportion of the seats in the High Court.

SUBORDINATE COURTS

Below the District Courts come the Subordinate Courts presided over by first-class and second-class Subordinate judges (the latter called *Munsifs* in some Provinces, I believe). The first-class Subordinate judges have unlimited civil jurisdiction, and appeals from them on matters of fact or law lie to the High Court. The jurisdiction

of the second-class Subordinate judges in Bombay is confined to cases in which the value of the subject-matter does not exceed Rs. 5,000. Appeals lie to the District judge, and there is a further appeal to the High Court, but on questions of law only.

In Bombay we were fortunate in having a very good lot of Subordinate judges, and the only reform in connection with the Subordinate Courts which I would advocate relates to the initial selection of the judges. Under Section 255 of the Government of India Act the Governor, after consultation with the High Court and the Public Service Commission, settles the qualifications of candidates. That is unobjectionable; but then the Section goes on to direct that the Governor shall make appointments from a list of candidates submitted by the Provincial Public Service Commission. Public Service Commissions, Central and Provincial, were introduced, I suppose, to eliminate the risk of communal appointments, and no doubt it is often desirable that appointments should be made, or recommended, by an entirely impartial body. But the weak point of every P.S.C. is that it probably has no experience of the work which its nominee will have to perform, and it incurs no responsibility if the appointment is a failure. A business house would hardly appreciate its officers being appointed by some outside body, however distinguished and impartial, having no knowledge of the business.

When the Government of India Bill was before the Select Committee I had an interview with the Secretary of State and submitted a written memorandum in which I suggested that it was quite unnecessary to introduce the Public Service Commission into the selection of judges, since there was an impartial body with expert knowledge ready to hand in the High Court. It is inconceivable that a High Court, that is the Chief Justice and judges acting together, would ever be influenced by communal or other improper considerations, and the High Court is directly interested in securing good sub-judges, and knows the type of man required.

In Bombay I got over the difficulty, with the assistance of the Governor, Lord Brabourne, and the Chairman of the Bombay P.S.C., by arranging that applications for subordinate judgeships should be scrutinized, and candidates interviewed, jointly by the P.S.C. and a High Court Committee consisting of three judges and two advocates of the High Court. The P.S.C. make the ultimate recommendation, but if they include any name not approved by the High Court Committee they draw the Governor's attention to the fact. In practice the scheme works smoothly, and there has never been any difference of opinion. It would be difficult, in Bombay at any rate, for the P.S.C. to act without the help of the High Court. Candidates are required to have had at least three years' practice at the Bar, and confidential reports from the District judge as to candidates in his district carry great weight; but I always refused to allow District judges to communicate with outside parties except through the High Court, and the P.S.C. could not have obtained the essential reports otherwise than through the High Court.

NIGGARDLY PROVISION

There is one matter connected with the Mofussil Courts which requires to be mentioned, though it is not a matter for legislative reform, and that is the niggardly spirit which Governments display towards them. The Bombay Government, and probably other Provincial Governments are much the same, seemed to think that the Courts exist merely as revenue-producing Departments of Government, and they are most unwilling to spend money upon Courts. Many of the Court buildings are quite inadequate, and no legal library is provided even for the District Courts, whilst the Subordinate Courts are supplied with hardly any legal books at all. It was always a mystery to me how the judges managed to write such good judgments as they did with such limited facilities for looking up points of law.

An efficient judicial system is one of the most vital social services which it is the duty of any Government to provide. Government naturally charges Court fees, which fall upon those who have recourse to the Courts, and such fees should be calculated with due regard to the cost of maintaining the class of courts in which they are levied; but it is impossible to strike a profit and loss account between Government and the Courts. Some branches of legal administration must necessarily involve expense to Government—that is, to the general taxpayers. The cost of enforcing the

criminal law must be practically a dead loss; whilst Insolvency administration can hardly be expected to pay its way. I would plead for a more generous appreciation by Governments of the part which the Courts play in the life of the community, and of the importance of maintaining them in a state of efficiency, whatever the cost.

THE MAGISTRACY

The only other matter to which I need refer is the position of the magistrates. The District Magistrate, who is in control of all the magistrates in the district, is the Collector, that is to say, the principal executive officer, and most of the lower magistrates are revenue officers. This is a thoroughly vicious system, placing the magistrates directly under the control of the executive. Separation of the judiciary from the executive was one of the main planks in the programme of the Congress party, and when that party took office in Bombay the Ministry started to work out a scheme for such separation. The matter is not free from difficulty, but the difficulties are, I am certain, not insuperable. However, I am afraid the Congress party when in power was as anxious to control the magistrates as its predecessors had been, and would, I think, have extended control to the judges if it had had the chance. At any rate, whatever the reason may have been, Congress Governments made no real attempt to separate the judiciary from the executive, and, from the unanimity with which all the governments abandoned the project, I think that one may assume that they acted on the orders of the Congress Working Committee, that irresponsible and autocratic body, working in the background, outside the Constitution, whose activities played such a sinister part in destroying all semblance of real democratic government in the provinces in which the Congress were in power. For much of the work of the Congress Government in Bombay I had sincere admiration, and my relations with the Ministers concerned with law and order were most friendly, but I regarded the failure to tackle the problem of the magistracy as a cynical sacrifice of principle to expediency.

AN OUTLINE OF REFORMS

To summarize the reforms I suggest: I would not make the Federal Court the Supreme Court of Appeal for India at the present time, but I would transfer to it enough special and useful work to occupy the time of the judges. In the High Courts I would raise the age for retirement of judges to 65. I would abolish the Judicial Branch of the I.C.S., and would modify recruitment to the Services accordingly. I would recruit the District and High Court Benches from the Provincial Judicial Services by promotion of the best of the Subordinate judges, and also direct from amongst suitable members of the Bar. I doubt if the I.C.S. would object to the abolition of the Judicial Branch provided the interests of its members already in the Judiciary are not prejudiced.

I would amend Section 255 of the Government of India Act by leaving it to the High Courts, instead of the P.S.C., to submit the list from which Subordinate judges are to be appointed. I would transfer all magisterial work from Executive Officers to Resident Magistrates appointed from the Bar.

If those reforms were adopted they would, in my opinion, improve the Indian judicial system, but, as will be seen, they none of them go to the root of the matter. On the whole the system seems to me to be working very well, and it is a source of great pride to me to have been associated with it for so many years.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

A MEETING of the Association was held on Tuesday, May 2, 1944, at Caxton Hall, S.W. 1, when Sir John Beaumont, K.C., late Chief Justice of Bombay, read a paper entitled "The Indian Judicial System: Some Suggested Reforms." Sir Alfred Wort presided.

THE CHAIRMAN, in introducing the lecturer, said that he occupied a very eminent position at the Chancery Bar before he took up the important post of Chief Justice of Bombay, and really needed no introduction, and his experience would be invaluable in discussing the important subject of the reform of the Indian judiciary. There was hardly any function of Government so important as the setting up of an impartial judiciary and the administration of justice. He thought it was a fact that a very large section of the Indian community looked upon the administration of justice as the most important function of Government. Whether this was a correct view or estimation might be open to question; others might feel that administrative and executive functions were more important; but he could say without fear of contradiction that there was no institution introduced by the British into India in which the Indian had a greater faith than the administration of justice, and nothing had contributed more to stable government in India than that same system. This did not mean that reform was unnecessary, and Sir John Beaumont's paper would show the direction which he felt that reform should take.

Sir JOHN BEAUMONT then read his paper.

THE CHAIRMAN said that Sir John had dealt with what might be described as matters of detail and matters of a more fundamental character. There might be some discussion with regard to matters of detail, although the differences of opinion might not be very great. It might be otherwise with regard to questions of a more radical nature.

With regard to the question of retirement of judges at sixty or sixty-five, speaking from experience, with the exception of one case, he had hardly ever found a judge who had to retire at sixty who was beyond his work. And that somewhat doubtful case was settled by the great arbiter of all things, death. He disagreed with Sir John when he suggested that the question of retirement should be placed in the hands of the Chief Justice. Chief Justices were human, and, in any event, to place that power in the hands of one individual would tend to sap the independence of the judges.

Whether any particular matter was a question of detail or principle might be difficult to decide. For instance, the question of the jurisdiction of the Federal Court might be one or the other, but he would again disagree with Sir John's suggestion that income tax work should be transferred to that court. For a long time in India, particularly in the north, there had been a great agitation that there should be set up some body such as the Special or General Commissioners of Income Tax in this country, entirely independent of Government departments, to decide appeals. To transfer this work to the Federal Court and thus take these important cases away from the jurisdiction of the provincial courts would be a retrograde step and in no way meet the demand referred to. But reform was absolutely essential because of the conflicting opinions of the various High Courts; how the Government administered the income tax law amidst these conflicting decisions he could not imagine, and on this matter he would make a statutory provision that the decision of one High Court should bind all other High Courts on all points of law.

With regard to reform generally in India, whether political or judicial, the same difficulty arose—an atmosphere of unreality always appeared to exist. There seemed to be an idea that reform should apply to everyone but oneself. This was rather indicated by what Sir John said with regard to the situation of the judiciary and the executive in the case of the magistrates. Those who most strongly advocated reform, when they got into power showed every intention of retaining control over the magistrates. He would again illustrate his meaning by referring to the question of the abolition of the appeal to the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council. In the last few years there had been a great and growing volume of opinion in favour of that proposition, but should the Imperial Parliament amend the Government of India Act in such a manner there would be an enormous rush to file cases before the Privy Council.

A very controversial question was the recruitment to the judiciary from the Indian Civil Service. If he appeared to be in disagreement with Sir John Beaumont it was not because he thought the system was good or bad, but for the reason that the question raised something more complicated than might at first be supposed. What

was the present position? In India there was a judicial system fundamentally the same as in this country, but adapted to Indian circumstances. By judicial system he meant the law of procedure and those fundamental principles which governed the trial of all cases. But compared with the English system it approximated in certain respects to the French judicial system rather than to the system in any other part of the Empire, and the question seemed to arise whether the system in India should be worked by a bench of judges recruited as they were in India at the present time, or whether it should be a bench of judges recruited as they were in other countries of all members of the Commonwealth of Nations. This appeared to be a question which could not be settled by merely deciding whether members of the I.C.S. should be appointed members of the judiciary or not. He would amplify this point.

In India, generally speaking, the judiciary, apart from the High Court, was recruited from members of the Bar of a few years' standing and from the judicial branch of the Indian Civil Service. The fact that some of the judges were recruited from the Bar, most in their early years, made no exception to the general proposition that the Indian judiciary, apart from the High Court, was a branch of the Civil Service and that it approximated, as he had said, to the French system rather than to the English system. He had the greatest possible admiration for the subordinate judiciary, and if there was any criticism it was not of the individual judges, but of the system under which they worked. Again a matter of detail, but one of vast importance. He had often wondered when he read the records of cases how it was possible for a judge of a district, or a sessions judge, or a subordinate judge, to take a note in his own hand of every word of all the evidence given in court and to fulfil his functions as a judge at the same time.

It seemed, therefore, that this question of the recruitment of the Indian Civil Service to the judiciary could not be settled without determining the other and more important question as to whether the judiciary in India should be a branch of the Service or should, as in England and in the Dominions, be a judiciary which was recruited entirely from eminent members of the Bar who had undergone the very severe tests which a large practice at the Bar indicated. If it was the opinion that such a radical reform was impossible in the circumstances in India, then Sir Alfred Wort did not see how the appointment of members of the Indian Civil Service to the Indian judiciary could be avoided. He did not mean to use the word "avoided" in any derogatory manner. There was one outstanding factor which seemed to support the present system, and that was that in circumstances under which the judiciary worked in India a great deal of administrative work had to be done. In administering a district a member of the Indian Civil Service who had great administrative experience would be a more suitable person than one who had spent all his time at the Bar and had not had that experience.

Sir GILBERT WILES said that Sir John Beaumont had made an interesting reference to a book entitled *Bombay in the Time of George IV.*, and he would like to think that the book was quoted in order to demonstrate how very different things were in Bombay today in George VI.'s time.

He would confine his remarks to the question of the relations between the judicial and the executive. There must be some difference of opinion between the judges and the executive owing to difference of outlook and conditions in India. But it was the duty of the judiciary and the High Court to see that the executive did not exceed its powers and functions as understood by British law, and he hoped that the judiciary in India would continue to exercise that function.

A fruitful source of disagreement was finance. The High Court in its domestic administration was entirely independent; the executive had nothing to do with the conduct of affairs within the power of the High Court, but he had often thought that it must be peculiarly aggravating to the Chief Justice to have to go to the executive for the money to enable him to do as he wished. Sir John had referred to the attitude of the Bombay Government as being niggardly. It was unfortunate that his period of office coincided with the worst slump of the century. They could agree with Sir John Beaumont when he said that justice should be a "priority" matter, but subject to that the judicial department had at Budget time to take its place in the queue with

other departments. Cheap justice was essential, but "luxury litigation" should be required to pay something towards the exchequer.

With regard to the judicial branch of the I.C.S., this, if it was a problem, was becoming less and less a matter of urgency; it was a fact that the future of the I.C.S. was unknown—it was probably near the end of its existence, and it was hardly worth while raising this very old hare; but since it had been raised, he would say that the language employed in the paper was not quite fair to the executive Government. Candidates for the I.C.S. in India, as in any other Civil Service, were not all of one type; some men were born judges, others were born executive officials, and that was why a few years' experience was required before they were divided. He had had the experience of trying to sort out the judges from the executives, and an endeavour was made to pass to the judicial department the men it was thought most suitable.

Sir John had referred to the Public Service Commission and the suggestion he made to the India Office which was not accepted. The speaker did not know the reason for its rejection, but if it had been made to him it would have seemed to him to be unwise at the time that a very unpopular body was being established to put outside its purview such an important function as the appointment of subordinate judges. But Sir John had found a workable compromise.

The establishment of resident stipendiary magistrates was a very old story. He remembered having to examine a scheme for the establishment of resident magistrates in the Bombay Presidency many years ago; and it was true that the Congress Home Minister did direct the district officers to produce a scheme within two months. It was dropped, perhaps for the reason suggested, but possibly for the same reason as before, that the cost was found to be prohibitive. The blessed words "financial stringency" acted again and postponed what most people agreed was a desirable reform.

Mr. J. M. PRINGLE (late I.C.S., now practising before the Judicial Committee of the Privy Council) was glad that Sir John Beaumont drew attention to a feature of Indian life which people at home were inclined to overlook, and that was the physical discomfort in which the work of district judges was carried on. Sir John also spoke about the physical conditions in which the High Court worked, and the speaker wondered if the Bombay High Court judges ever went to see a mofussil court in function and the conditions under which its judges had to work. In India there were many sharp divisions; people in one division knew very little about those working in another. He had to inspect a lot of mofussil courts at one time and could not imagine how the judges did their work. Very few people had any idea of the conditions under which they operated. These sharp cleavages were one of the disadvantages of life and work in India.

Another difficulty was subject-matter. In other parts of India there was not the same divergence as in Bengal, where conditions were influenced and overtopped by the presence of Calcutta. In Bengal there were two classes of human beings, the town people and the country people, and as a settlement officer he used to train young Bengali men. When they saw a paddy-field they asked what it was! There was the same difficulty in the higher courts; judges decided disputes as to rights in land and rights in crops—vital questions in India—without any first-hand knowledge of what they were dealing with.

The system of recruiting some part of the judicial system from the I.C.S. operated in this way, that sometimes there was someone on the bench who had seen a field of paddy, and that sort of knowledge did help. Many university graduates when they entered the judicial service did not know mofussil conditions. He was not a strong advocate of the district judge element except from two points of view, one of which was that they knew something of the subject on which they were adjudicating, and the other that some of them had some idea of administration. The administrative duties of a district judge amounted to an extremely heavy task, because the clerical staff was badly paid and was not always honest, so that a great deal of the work which they should have done had to be done by the judge. In England there was a trained, reliable, and trustworthy staff who got things ready for the judge, but this was not so in India.

These were considerations which should be kept in mind in suggesting any reform of the district judge appointments.

Dr. S. VESEY FITZGERALD thanked Sir John Beaumont for a stimulating address which had covered a field large enough for the full-time work of a Royal Commission. With much of what Sir John had said, even on the most controversial points, he found himself in agreement. But Sir John had dealt with the various grades of judges, beginning at the top; this was the wrong way round. The most important people were the subordinate judges (including those formerly called *munsifs*). He did not underestimate the importance of the judicial work done by the district judges and the High Courts, but their greatest function was in the support, encouragement and guidance which they could give to the subordinate judges. In his own old province there was a splendid body of subordinate judges who fully deserved all the support which could be given them.

The appointment of I.C.S. officers to judgeships was an old bone of contention, but, as Sir John had rightly envisaged it, it was not a question whether I.C.S. district judges should be promoted to the High Court, but whether I.C.S. junior officers should be placed in the judiciary at all. Twenty or thirty years ago the question might have been disposed of by the emphatic testimony of such distinguished barrister judges as Sir Lawrence Jenkins, Sir Arnold White, Sir Harry Stephen and many others to the value of the special contribution which I.C.S. judges could make to the administration of justice. But in these days the I.C.S., like everything else, was changing and its future was uncertain. The question was not whether a proportion of the judiciary should continue to be recruited from the I.C.S., but whether we could continue to obtain that special contribution in the future, either from the I.C.S. or elsewhere.

To a considerable extent, no doubt, it could be obtained from the provincial judicial service—*i.e.*, by promotion of the subordinate judges already mentioned; and in this connection he ventured to think that the idea of a judicial service which recruited young men who looked forward to promotion was not quite so rare in the British Empire as the Chairman seemed to think. There was the legal service of the Colonial Office, and there was also, he believed, a similar cadre in Canada.

But he still believed that there was an element in the I.C.S. contribution to the stream of justice which they would not be so likely to get from the provincial service. As the speaker had said, the I.C.S. man had usually a wide general education in the humanities. In the early years of his service his work as a magistrate and assistant collector was predominantly judicial in character, and much of it was done in camp in close touch with the soil and its cultivators. The comparison between the I.C.S. and the Home Office in England was wildly inappropriate; the two things could hardly be more unlike one another. It was desirable to get men of wide general education on the bench, both for its judicial work and for the administrative work which falls on the judiciary in India; mofussil experience was equally essential. No doubt a legal and judicial training was equally essential, but the contribution which a powerful local Bar makes to the education of its judges should not be overlooked.

Dr. Fitzgerald believed it would be to the advantage of India generally, and in accordance with the wishes of the majority of Indians, that there should be in the future a distinct British element, not only in the High Courts, but also in the district courts, and possibly even in the subordinate courts. In Irak, which had recently been given total independence, a considerable number of British judges were still recruited not only to what corresponded to the High Court, but also to what corresponded to the local and subordinate courts. He was inclined to think that the best solution of the problem, if it was not already too late, was the founding of a separate Indian judicial service to which the present judicial members of the I.C.S. might be transferred. The separate training of that service in England and in India would require to be worked out in detail.

Sir AMBERSON MARTEN said that the probability that the Supreme Court would not at the outset have enough work to do was pointed out to the Simon Commission and also to Government, and was emphasized in his paper read before the Association in 1935, entitled "The Indian Judicature and the Indian Constitution Bill," when that

eminent lawyer the late Sir George Lowndes presided. Sir George then said: "There is a question of a Supreme Court that has been left to India to decide for itself. I am sorry, because I think this would have been an excellent opportunity to start what must come in India sooner or later, and that is a Supreme Court of Appeal for India. The work of appeals to Privy Council is increasing, and it will be quite impossible to cope with it when the federation appeals come as well. It has to come from the centre; it has to be a very decisive step, and I would sooner see India start its own Supreme Court. . . . It must be done very soon in India, and this would have been a great opportunity to do the whole thing by one stroke."

The one stroke was not made. What was now the remedy? The mere transfer of income tax appeals to the Supreme Court at Delhi would not give it enough work and would involve extra expense to litigants. More work should, however, be transferred to the Supreme Court in order to keep it fully employed—e.g., civil appeals from various presidency courts could be transferred to the Supreme Court sitting at Delhi or in the presidency towns either as a Supreme Court or as temporary additional judges of the Presidency Court. In Australia the highest court of appeal travelled. In England lord justices of appeal have often gone to the aid of courts of first instance. It would be at the worst an interesting experiment to see how, in a small way, a final Indian court of appeal would work. Normally arrears of litigation in India are heavy, and in his own time the help of a Supreme Court would have been welcomed.

As to the age of retirement at sixty or sixty-five, this was an open question. He doubted whether in the present political uncertainty the increased age limit would induce a busy Indian barrister to accept office.

As to recruitment to the High Court bench from the I.C.S., was this the time to alter things? Personally he had had the greatest help from the I.C.S. judges, both on the bench and also in that most important branch of High Court work, administration. He thought the ideal bench for hearing heavy mofussil civil appeals was a barrister judge together with an I.C.S. judge. In administration matters the I.C.S. had an advantage over the Bar, who normally knew nothing about administration until promoted to the bench, and even then were not always interested in it.

As to the general separation of the executive from the judicial, the answer given in his time was that the cost made it prohibitive. Whether the present was a more suitable time for such a reform he must leave to others to say.

He could have wished that Sir John Beaumont had touched on administrative or procedure reforms, with a view to speedier and cheaper litigation, for the High Courts did not merely depend on the judges. But that opened, of course, a wide field, and he must leave it at that. India had been given a glorious heritage in her judicial system; may the future rulers of India never destroy it.

Mr. H. S. L. POLAK said that Sir John Beaumont had referred to the question of setting up a Supreme Court in India, and he was interested to be reminded of Sir George Lowndes' remarks on the same subject. Many would agree with those remarks. It was inevitable that a Supreme Court would be set up in India, and it might very well deal with a good deal of the work which today went to the Judicial Committee. Some of the cases which had to be argued before that Committee might well be settled finally in India.

With regard to the arguments raised in favour of a Supreme Court as against the Judicial Committee, he was not altogether in agreement with those mentioned in Sir John's paper or some of those which had been otherwise put forward. He did not think that distance made all that difference. The self-governing Dominions had their own courts, but with the exception of two—and these mainly for political reasons—they all sent appeals to the Judicial Committee. With regard to the possibility of litigants being present, he did not think that would make any difference whatever to the conduct of the appeal here. The presence of their legal advisers from the courts of origin was sometimes an embarrassment. Questions which related to custom should have been fought out in India in the courts of origin and in the appellate courts there, and the details relating to local custom should already appear fully in the printed record when it reached here, so that it should not be any more difficult for the judges of the Privy Council to come to a good decision thereon than

for the judges of the appeal court in India, which would normally be sitting in a place quite distant from the place of origin.

It was sometimes suggested that two other reasons for the setting up of the Supreme Court were expense and delay. With regard to expense, he doubted whether it would be any less if a Supreme Court was set up, and with regard to delay he was convinced from long experience that delay occurred mainly in India, not in this country. The Chief Clerk of the Judicial Committee took good care to see that delay here was reduced to a minimum, so that neither of these reasons was a good one.

The Right Hon. Sir Tej Bahadur Sapru had recently said that the appointment of High Court judges in future should be left to the Chief Justice of the Federal Court, acting in manner similar to the Lord Chancellor in this country. There might be a good deal to be said for that procedure, but he would like to hear Sir John Beaumont's views on that subject.

Sir JOHN BEAUMONT, in reply, said that he would not welcome the introduction into India of the system of putting judicial patronage into the hands of a single individual, especially when that individual knew nothing about the work of the courts to which he was to appoint judges. The Chief Justice of the Federal Court had up till now been sent out from England, and it would be futile to put into his hands the appointment of judges on the High Court Benches in India, which were in no way under his jurisdiction.

With regard to the appointment of I.C.S. judges in the High Courts, a good many of the criticisms made were open to the charge of being out of date. Things had changed a great deal during the thirteen years the speaker had been in Bombay. Sir Amberson Marten had said that he had always obtained a great deal of assistance from I.C.S. judges. So had he (the speaker), but since Sir Amberson's time there had been two provincial service judges in the Bombay High Court, each of whom acted as administrative judge with great success, and who were no less helpful to the speaker than the I.C.S. judges. As district judges the I.C.S. produced good administrators; but then so did the provincial service. Naturally, in both services some individuals were better than others, but he never felt that in heavy districts like Poona or Ahmedabad a provincial service judge could not be trusted to cope with the work. Again, the suggestion that the I.C.S. judges knew the districts, while perfectly true, was somewhat irrelevant, because the subordinate judges knew the districts quite as well, and were more familiar probably with the local population who might be giving evidence before them. The subordinate judges had great experience, and their presence in the High Court was at least as valuable from that point of view as the presence of an I.C.S. officer.

With regard to the suggestion that the Federal Court should deal with income tax references, it should be made clear that such references only dealt with points of law. He did not mind what work was entrusted to the Federal Court, but there should be something to occupy the time of the judges, and if it was to be made a court of appeal for civil appeals more judges must be appointed.

He attached great importance to the appointment of subordinate judges, who, as one speaker had said, were the backbone of the judicial system, and to these appointments being made, not on the advice of the Public Service Commission, but on that of the High Court. The High Court knew the type of man required. The suggestion of Sir Gilbert Wiles that to deprive the Public Service Commission of the right to recommend judges would diminish their prestige was not convincing. In the public interest appointing competent subordinate judges was much more important than considering the prestige of the I.C.S.

To make justice cheaper and quicker was a worthy ideal, but it was a problem which nobody had succeeded in solving in this country or in any other. He was afraid that litigation would always be expensive unless they returned to the system of allowing judges to administer justice according to their own ideas, without regard to precedent and without hearing advocates. He did not think such a reform would be popular in India.

Sir GILBERT JACKSON proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Sir John Beaumont for his paper and to Sir Alfred Wort for presiding, which was accorded by applause.

RESETTLEMENT OF SOLDIERS

BY THE HON. SIR FIROZKHAN NOON, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E.

To some it may seem premature for us to be considering the question of resettlement of soldiers before the war is won, but we all know that we are reaching the final stages of a victorious ending of the war, and now is the time for us to consider what we are likely to do for those who have offered their lives in defence of freedom.

In India we have a Reconstruction Committee of the Executive Council, with Sir J. P. Srivastava, who is also the Food Member, as chairman. This Committee has several sub-committees, and one of these is for the Resettlement of Soldiers; of this I am the chairman. We have already held one important meeting, at which were present about thirty leading men from all over India.

The establishment of the main Committee for the inter-departmental co-ordination effected under its auspices by the Secretariat of the Committee has resulted in various departments of the Central Government undertaking a large amount of preparatory work, including the compilation of relevant data, which must finally materialize into definite proposals.

The strength of the Indian Army is approximately one and three-quarter million men and is increasing at the rate of about 30,000 a month. The strength of the Royal Indian Navy is roughly 20,000, and that of the Indian Air Force approximately 30,000, including non-combatants. Although it is difficult to assess the precise nature of the problem of resettlement of the men in the three services, particularly in the absence of certain essential data, yet we can make reasonable assumptions, and even though some of them prove ultimately rather wide of the mark, there is no doubt that the general aspect of the problem can now be readily apprehended.

The Navy and the Air Force are not likely to present serious difficulty. It is legitimate to assume that neither service will be reduced to anything like its pre-war strength. The naval cadres in 1939 were in the vicinity of 1,500 and the Indian Air Force was still in its infancy. Moreover, the majority of the rank and file of both services have professional or technical qualifications. It is to be expected that a high proportion of the "hostilities only" ratings of the Navy will return to the merchant service, and that comparatively few will experience difficulty in finding employment.

As regards the Indian Air Force, it is likely that a substantial proportion of such numbers as it may be found necessary to demobilize will readily find work in civil aviation, which will in all probability largely develop after the war.

The problem as regards these two services, then, is not likely to be a general one, but will resolve itself into the necessity for dealing with a possibly not very large number of individual cases.

As regards the Army the case is different. We may assume that at least 1,250,000, and possibly 1,500,000, men will have to return to civil life. At first sight it would appear that this is not a very formidable figure when the size of the population—about 400 millions—is considered. But recruitment is exceedingly uneven, and whereas over large tracts of country there is hardly a man in the services, there are a number of comparatively small areas which have been practically stripped of their man-power, and these are bound to be very seriously affected by demobilization. Apart from the purely economic aspect of the return to civil life of more than a million soldiers, which, as indicated above, will be comparatively trifling except in certain well-marked areas, the fact remains that all these men have become accustomed to a far higher standard of living than they previously enjoyed. They have acquired a considerable amount of education and also skill in the use of modern weapons and modern machinery. Many of them have seen other countries and their outlook has been widened. They have, moreover, learnt to take a pride in themselves and have been encouraged to hope for better things. Their demands on life will undoubtedly be much higher than they were, and unless they are satisfied with the

conditions to which they will return they may form a considerable leaven of discontent instead of becoming a stable and progressive element in the community.

RECRUITMENT PROPORTIONS

It will be advantageous to examine the approximate figures of recruitment by Provinces. Much the largest total is that of the Punjab, which has contributed well over a third of the entire Army. By the end of the war its contribution may amount to more than 600,000 men. A high proportion of these is drawn from the northern districts, which are, generally speaking, poor and undeveloped. The majority are agriculturists—probably 80 per cent.—though not more than 30 to 40 per cent. own land. The remainder are landless tenants and labourers or village artisans of various kinds with an agricultural background. Many have, however, learnt trades while in the Army, and, of the 333,000 whose card indexes have been completed, nearly 64,000 are Mechanical Transport drivers and 14,000 fitters.

The North-West Frontier Province has been heavily recruited considering its area and population, and has over 70,000 men now serving. It may be assumed that at least 80 per cent. of these have an agricultural background and would normally return to village life either as farmers, tenants, labourers or menials. Of the 42,000 whose card indexes are now completed, over 8,000 are Mechanical Transport drivers, and a large number have acquired proficiency in a variety of mechanical trades.

Sind has only 5,000 in all.

The United Provinces will have over 200,000, but no districts have been heavily recruited, with the exception of Garhwal and Kumaun. The United Provinces districts are very large, often with a population of 2 to 4 millions, and few of them would have to absorb more than 3,000 to 4,000 men. In Garhwal and Kumaun, however, the problem will be more comparable to that of Northern Punjab.

Bengal has nearly 100,000, about one-third of whom are technical men, and a large number more enrolled in labour units, and a high proportion come from the towns rather than the villages. Of the 42,000 men who have been classified, nearly 12,000 are cooks, clerks, fitters and Mechanical Transport drivers.

Orissa has a little over 3,000 only. Again the largest figure is that of Mechanical Transport drivers.

Assam has some 10,000 men serving. Comparatively few of them are agriculturists.

Bihar has over 40,000. These come from all over the Province, towns as well as country, and there is no particular class or areas which can in any way be singled out.

Central Provinces and Berar represent much the same picture: 25,000 men, the majority of whom are serving in ancillary units and in trades of all kinds. Only a small proportion are agriculturists and very few own land.

Madras has supplied more men to the Army than any other Province except the Punjab—over 260,000. There are, however, few districts in which recruitment has been at all heavy; in none does the number exceed 30,000—and Madras districts are very large. A very small proportion actually own land, and the majority belong to the labouring classes, though probably 80 per cent. of them come from villages. Of the 95,000 whose records have been prepared, no less than 33,000 are Mechanical Transport drivers and about 20,000 carpenters, clerks, cooks, electricians and fitters, and over 25,000 are sweepers.

Bombay has nearly 100,000 men serving, and the Mahratta districts are heavily recruited from a more or less homogeneous population—farmers, agricultural tenants and labourers. Of the 53,000 whose cards have been prepared, 9,500 are Mechanical Transport drivers and 2,000 fitters. Generally speaking, Bombay has rather fewer technical troops than other Provinces and also few menials.

The only other large aggregates are represented by Rajputana and Central India with over 50,000 men serving, a vast majority of whom are agriculturists, and the States of Kashmir, Travancore and Patiala. Kashmir has, including non-combatants and technical recruits, about 45,000, Travancore 35,000, and Patiala 27,000. Comparatively few of the Travancore State service men are agriculturists, and most are artisans and labourers from the towns. Some 7,500 of the 20,000 whose cards have

been completed are Mechanical Transport drivers. Patiala has a considerable proportion of agriculturists. Out of the 19,000 whose cards have been completed, 4,600 are Mechanical Transport drivers, but other trades are not represented in any very striking numbers. Kashmir has a considerable number of agriculturists, especially Dogra Rajputs from Jammu.

Altogether there are something like a quarter of a million State subjects serving in the British forces, and many have from 10,000 men (Cochin, Hyderabad, Jodhpur, Jaipur) to 3,000 of all categories—technical, non-technical and non-combatants. Generally speaking, they are drawn from much the same types and classes of persons as from the adjoining Provinces. Demobilization is likely to have a marked economic effect on the Rajputana States, Kashmir, and, to a somewhat lesser extent, Travancore and Patiala.

LAND SETTLEMENT

The foregoing summary will show that generalization is difficult, with the exception of the fact that over most of the area, both of British India and of the States, the great majority of the people concerned are villagers rather than townsmen. Eighty per cent. may be rather a high figure, but it is probably not far short of that, even including Bengal and some areas in the south. Another generalization which can be made is that though so large a proportion are villagers, a comparatively small proportion actually own land. In the Punjab, United Provinces and North-West Frontier Province the numbers of landowners are considerable, but generally speaking not elsewhere.

It appears, then, that for large numbers schemes of agricultural improvement will not be of direct benefit, and therefore each Province and State must work out its own scheme. There are a few districts which are very highly recruited indeed, but apart from these the bulk of the Army comes from all over India, and a very large proportion is drawn from the artisan and labouring classes. Settlement on the land does not offer many possibilities at present, though the development of certain areas in the south may ultimately cater for a considerable number. Sir Colin Garbett has already carried out a survey of available land, and apart from the Punjab I see little prospect of surplus land elsewhere.

As regards industrial employment, it may be assumed that it would be open only to technically trained service men of the higher grades, and even then they will have to be trained in the particular requirements laid down for employment in industrial concerns. Technically trained ex-service men will be in competition with the existing highly trained personnel of Government factories and also with civilian personnel in factories now in war work which will be switched over to peace-time industry after the war, and it may be difficult to secure any marked degree of preference for the ex-soldier in industrial concerns generally. The creation of large-scale transportation companies would help in providing congenial employment for at least a proportion of the vast mass of motor-drivers.

GOVERNMENT SERVICE

We can, however, count on a high degree of preference in the giving of Government employment by both Provinces and States, and may assume that much of the man-power required in the carrying out of long-term reconstruction programmes will be found in the ranks of the demobilized. This should aid very substantially in tidying over the first few years after the war, and for the future not only the improvement of agriculture in all its branches, but the expansion and creation of rural industries, particularly those subsidiary to agriculture, should be the goal.

In the Government of India all recruitment during the war is on a temporary basis, and at the end of the war all vacancies in the permanent departments will be filled in the following manner: 70 per cent. of the vacancies will go to men with war service; the other 30 per cent. will be open to men with war service also, but they will have to compete with other applicants on merits.

A large number of schemes have been considered in the Directorate of Welfare

and Education and in the Defence Department, and referred to provincial governments for examination in the light of local conditions. In the days of the old pre-war Indian Army certain classes only drawn from very definite areas in the country were concerned. But, as will be observed, the present-day Indian Army comes from all over the country and contains very large numbers of classes not heretofore enlisted. The great growth of the ancillary services is to a great extent responsible for this change.

To assist us in the resettlement of ex-service men we have a fund which is increasing at the rate of between 30 and 40 lakhs a month and which now approximates Rs. 5 crores. By the time demobilization actually begins it may amount to as much as double that sum. The condition attaching to the use of the fund is that it must be spent on schemes which are for the permanent benefit of the enlisted classes. In addition, therefore, to what the Provinces, aided as far as may be possible and necessary by the Centre, can do for the people as a whole, we shall be in a position to do something *extra* for the men of the services. How to spend this money to the best advantage is a matter of very considerable difficulty.

TRAINING CENTRES

A great deal of vocational training is already being carried out within the various battalions through lectures regularly given on matters connected with health, hygiene, sanitation, better seeds, manure pits and animal husbandry. There are at the moment throughout British India 110 Army training centres, and a great many of these contain a number of agricultural demonstration plots. The post-war reconstruction fund might be utilized in the following manner :

At each Army training centre we establish an agricultural institute which will impart education to the soldier while he is still in the Army. It will have this advantage, that the soldiers will be already housed and be under Army discipline and receive wages in the form of salary, and can be compelled to attend these training classes and demonstration farms. These demonstration farms could also serve as depots for seed. They could also be extended to grow vegetable seeds, which could be distributed through soldiers' boards to the demobilized soldiers in their villages. These centres could also have dairy farming and, where suitable, poultry farms and keep good herds of cattle which could be distributed amongst the demobilized soldiers on easy terms.

But these Army centres may not suffice because they only exist where there are cantonments, and these are located in certain areas, whereas for the purposes of general station farms we need to establish them in areas which are climatically suitable and which contain good agricultural land and means of irrigation. It is from this point of view that an agricultural headquarters would have been more suitable. We have circulated this scheme to the various Provinces, but I am afraid the response is not a very favourable one, judging from the replies of two or three Provinces which have already been received. It is quite realized that the problem of improving the lot of the demobilized soldier is closely connected with the general improvement of the people of a Province, and since it is the duty of the provincial government to uplift agricultural standards and education, we with our limited funds must not undertake anything which it is the duty of a provincial government to do. Our work should not be in place of, but should be supplementary to, the work of a provincial government, and therefore we may have to establish, perhaps, one agricultural centre in each suitable Province for the purpose of distributing seeds and agricultural machinery.

Connected with this is also the question of establishing vegetable seed farms. These could be established in suitable areas so as to provide vegetable seeds for the demobilized soldiers through the various soldiers' boards, so as to enable them to earn a little more money out of their small holdings spread throughout the villages of India.

The Government also have under consideration whether to establish an All-India Co-operative Council under the Defence Department to work out co-operative schemes for the benefit of demobilized Indian soldiers, sailors and airmen. The

manufacture of cycles in parts, clothes, shoes and possibly watches on a co-operative basis is within the realm of possibility. Fruit-growing, fruit and vegetable canning, bottling of fruit juices, dehydrating of vegetables, marketing of agricultural products, sale of consumer goods, can all be carried out on a co-operative basis. A Co-operative Savings Bank for the Indian soldiers, sailors and airmen may also prove a useful institution. We are also considering a scheme for the creation of an Indian Corps of Commissionaires.

CROWN LANDS

The Punjab Government are now proceeding with the completion of the Thal Canal, and about 500,000 acres of land will receive irrigation by October, 1945. Within this new area which will receive irrigation there are about 90,000 acres of Crown land belonging to the Punjab Government. These 90,000 acres may be purchased from the Punjab Government and collective farms established there for the purpose of finding employment for the demobilized soldier. At the moment there is no other Province in India where any land is available in large areas. The price of this land is not to be paid out of the Reconstruction Fund, but it has been recommended that the Government of India should pay this out of the general revenue as a token of their appreciation of the war services of the Indian soldier. We shall have to consider similar schemes for other Provinces also. In the distribution of any money grant for this purpose no doubt we shall have to consider the claims of each Province on the basis of its man-power contribution during the war, and in Provinces where we cannot find sufficient land we may have to work out other schemes with this money to help the demobilized soldier to earn more money.

In short, the most fruitful lines appear to me to be the establishment of agricultural farms and distribution of vegetable seeds to the soldiers in their own village homes. The growing industry in India may also provide scope for the employment of all the technicians who have been trained and recruited during war-time. Possibilities in road transport companies are also worth considering. The Government of India are keen to do all they can for the men who have volunteered to defend the freedom of their country and of the world.

PRICES OF PRODUCE

None of these schemes for the betterment of the demobilized soldier or even the agriculturists at large can ever succeed if the prices of agricultural products are allowed to fall heavily at the end of this war. There is a great danger of this country sinking into an agricultural slump which will be disastrous for the economy of our people as a whole. I was much interested in reading the reconstruction scheme of a number of Indian industrial magnates lately published, but I was very disappointed to find that nowhere in that scheme had they emphasized the necessity of fixing agricultural prices at a point where it can be said that the 90 per cent. of our people who live on the land will be able to eke out a living out of their small holdings. Some manufacturers in Europe as well as in India would like to keep the prices of raw materials as low as possible so as to reduce the production costs of their manufactured goods. On the other hand, the interest of the vast majority of the people of the East demands that the prices of agricultural products should not be allowed to fall below a certain level, and it is one of the primary duties of all to see that economic standards in the East do not fall, thus enabling the consumers to purchase goods manufactured in Europe and Asia. The authors of the scheme propose to reduce the contribution which agriculture makes to the national income from 53 to 40 per cent. and raise that of industries from 17 to 35 per cent. The Government of India are already considering ways and means of raising the standard of living in India, and I hope that whatever is possible will be done to safeguard the economic future of the agricultural masses.

DISCUSSION ON THE FOREGOING PAPER

At a meeting of the Association held on Tuesday, May 16, 1944, at the rooms of the Royal Society, Burlington House, Piccadilly, W.1, the Hon. Sir FIROZKHAN NOON, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., Defence Member, Government of India, gave an address on "Resettlement of Soldiers." The President of the Association, Major-General the Right Hon. Sir FREDERICK SYKES, M.P., was in the chair.

The PRESIDENT, before opening the proceedings, referred to the death of Sir Ernest Hotson two days earlier. Sir Ernest was, he said, a member of the Council of the Association. His great interest in the work of the Association, his sound judgment and long experience would be greatly missed. To himself during the years he served with Sir Ernest in India in very troublous times Sir Ernest was always a most wise, staunch and loyal colleague and friend. A message of deepest sympathy would be conveyed from the Association to Lady Hotson and the family, and he asked the meeting to stand for a moment in token of the affection and esteem in which he was held.

The PRESIDENT said that it was a very great pleasure to welcome Sir Firozkhan Noon. He had recently returned from India to enter the War Cabinet, and the members were very grateful to him for coming to address them on the all-important subject of the welfare and future of the Indian soldier.

Sir FIROZKHAN NOON: It is a great pleasure to be here with you again and to have the opportunity to talk to you about the subject which is uppermost in the minds of all—namely, what we can do for the soldier who is fighting for freedom. But before I say anything on the subject I should like to associate myself with what Sir Frederick said with regard to Sir Ernest Hotson. I remember him as a friend and with gratitude because he came to my assistance when I was treasurer of the Indian Comfort Fund, everybody who came into contact with him will remember him with nothing but gratitude. His loss will be mourned in India, where he spent the best years of his life in the service of my countrymen, and I heartily join with you in these few words of condolence.

Sir FIROZ then gave his lecture.

The PRESIDENT said that it was refreshing to turn from the political arena to the magnificent feats of the Indian troops in the field. The old regular Indian Army had lived up to the reputation that it had earned in 1914-18, and the English people would never forget what they owed to it. The Indian divisions had stood in the path of the Nazis who were striking at the Suez Canal, the jugular vein of the Empire, just as the Indian Corps had done in Flanders in 1914. And now we were building up a new army, a volunteer army of two million men, to drive the Japanese aggressors out of the mainland of Asia.

Sir Firozkhan Noon had brought forward some salient facts. One was the beneficial effect of army life in bringing the different communities together. Hindu and Muslim fought side by side. Might we not hope that the comradeship of the battlefield might persist after the war and help in solving the Indian problem? Again, the lecturer had pointed out that the backbone of the Indian Army was the peasant. It was to be hoped that the Government would not be forgetful of the fact when demobilization came. There was no better colonist in the world than the Indian soldier; he would bring back with him the experience and breadth of vision and enlarged ideas acquired during his travels abroad, and this would be of immeasurable value to his fellow-villagers.

General Sir GEORGE BARROW said that it had given him extraordinary pleasure to listen to the lecturer because it had been his good fortune to serve with Indian troops for over forty years in peace and in the field. He had served with them on the Indian frontier, in China, Afghanistan, in France, and also in Palestine, and he had learnt two or three things about them. One was to have the greatest admiration for their character and their soldierly qualities. In all his service he had never heard an

Indian soldier grumble about his hardships; he was always ready to meet his foe face to face, and it was with great satisfaction that he had heard what was to be done for him in the future.

He would express one hope. During a war the soldier received thanks and admiration, but he was always forgotten when peace came, and he hoped that that would not happen again. He felt, after the plans outlined by Sir Firozkhan Noon, that the future of the Indian soldier need cause no anxiety. If knowledge of these plans was spread among the troops it would bring further contentment to Indians and good feeling all round and would make the Indian soldier happy.

In conclusion he would like to know whether anything was being planned for the King's commissioned officers.

Sir FIROZKHAN NOON replied that the King's commissioned officers in the Indian Army had not been forgotten and an ex-officers' association was being formed as in this country. The Punjab Government had reserved 100 per cent. of the Civil Service appointments for men in the army. In the Government of India at one time 50 per cent. of the appointments were reserved for men in the army, but that decision had been reversed and all the recruitment to all the departments in the Government was temporary. All these men would be turned out and 70 per cent. of the vacancies would be given to men in the army, and in the other 30 per cent. they would stand equal chance of recruitment with the civilians.

Mr. WARIS AMEER ALI said that it was a special pleasure to hear that Government appointments were being reserved for the King's commissioned officers. In the United Provinces after the last war those who had served in the field stood out from their fellows; one could always tell when a man had been on service. After the last war the United Provinces Government issued stringent orders that preference was to be given in the lower grades of Government service to ex-sepoys and ex-N.C.O.s of exemplary or good character. But this was defeated by the subordinate officers, who had their own ways of getting round orders. When he took charge of a particular department he found that out of a staff of 400 only five were ex-service men, but he gradually filled up as many positions as possible with the ex-sepoys of good character. In five years 25 per cent. of the staff was formed of these men, with a resultant marked improvement in the standard and honesty of the work.

The Indian soldier was a man with a certain self-respect and self-esteem and he would not descend to the lower forms of treachery. It was only when he took over the recruitment of staff himself that the ex-sepoys were employed. It involved additional work, but it was worth while. He hoped that very great care would be taken in the Provinces to see that the lower grade appointments were reserved for the men who came back from the front line.

For the first time, except for a few seamen in the last war, Indians were joining the British forces in this country. It was only a small number, but there were already three D.F.C.s among them, and he hoped that small number would not be forgotten because they happened to be serving in British aircraft, ships or units.

Wing-Commander GRANT-FERRIS, M.P., said that he spent a year in India serving with the Royal Air Force, and as he represented a small part of this city in Parliament he had found the lecture of great interest. He would like to put a specific question to the lecturer which he had discussed with the Governor of the United Provinces. He asked whether there would be any possibility of moulding the returning service men into some sort of political party which could offset Congress and help the British Government to do the right thing by India in the future.

Sir FIROZKHAN NOON replied that the returned soldier would be so thinly distributed in the villages that it would be almost impossible to organise him on any particular party line. He feared that they would relapse into the usual village spirit and vote in the same way as their friends. The voting in Indian villages was not at all on the same lines as in England. In one election he fought himself in a village his opponent suggested the two candidates should have a wrestling match and that the voters should vote for the winner! (Laughter.) It would be difficult to organize the soldier as such, but there were other methods of forming opposition to certain

parties who held sway in the country, and when the public began to divorce great personalities from their politics and to consider problems on merit they would reach a happier stage. India was not far from that stage now.

Major-General G. O. CHANNER stressed the point made by the lecturer as to the education of the soldier. Soldiers had been taken from the various Provinces all over India, and it was a thrilling sight to see these men being trained in their units. Men of all classes and creeds were trained together, and that was the way the soldier was being educated in the unity of his country. Another point in which he was being educated was in a better standard of living. He would want to see that in his own village when he returned, and it was very gratifying to know that plans were being made for him. The Indian soldier was not interested in politics.

Mr. W. T. BISCOE said that when he returned from service after the last war the thing which appalled him was the lack of planning on the part of the civilians to deal with the terrific problem of an army being disbanded in India. He had been thrilled to hear of the plans now being made. The civilian after the last war had a tendency to say, "This is the army's job," and they did not feel that they had a real responsibility for the rehabilitation of the soldier. Very often people were only too glad to buy their immunity by giving a little to commemoration day; there was not much spirit of real recognition of what was owed to the soldiers of India. He served with them during the last war, and he felt that there was now an opportunity for real statesmanship in the manner with which 1½ million soldiers were to be handled.

Sir FIROZKHAN NOON said that it would be difficult to help a soldier who was victimized by the Government in certain Provinces. He might be located in a village, but hope lay in the fact that if the Government did victimize these men they would be opposed by all the ex-soldiers in the Province, and it was through measures of that kind that any Government in any country must fall.

Captain S. T. BINSTED asked if any action had been taken to encourage the Indian States to co-operate on this matter.

Sir FIROZKHAN NOON replied that the Indian States were already thinking of the problem. Sir Colin Garbutt had visited some of them, and several States had schemes under consideration for developing land for the returned soldiers. The Princes would be as careful of the well-being of the returned soldier as the Indian Provinces.

Asked as to whether plans were being made for the Indian seamen, Sir Firozkhan Noon said that they were in charge of the Commerce Department. They were employed almost entirely by the British companies, and he did not think there was much chance of the seamen who were now serving in the British Merchant Navy being thrown out of employment. If anything, there would be a greater demand for Indian seamen after the war than at present.

Sir MALCOLM DARLING said that it was a great pleasure to hear so much to the credit of the Province to which he personally owed so much, although nothing that Sir Firozkhan Noon had said surprised him.

There were one or two questions he would like to ask. The survey of land throughout India had been mentioned. He had seen a scheme put forward by Dr. Culley of the Indian Forestry Service, in which he suggested that it might be possible by using such modern instruments as the bulldozer to bring 160 million acres out of India's 250 million acres which were described as cultural and not cultivated into cultivation. He thought it must be an optimistic scheme, but there seemed to be no limit to what modern science could do, and he would like to know what Sir Firozkhan Noon thought of the possibilities of that scheme, because if it were possible to bring only 25 million acres under cultivation it would go much further than the modest scheme he had outlined.

His other question related to the project in which 90,000 acres were to be available. If 25 acres was the minimum to be given to any soldier, with the standard of living which he would expect after serving with the army it would only allow of land being given to 3,000 out of the 600,000 from the Punjab alone. Would it be possible to apply the Acquisition Act to the remaining area and acquire land from the landlords,

many of whom owned very vast estates and who might be willing to spare a certain amount of their land for so good a purpose?

There was one further question, and that was with regard to vegetables; he entirely agreed as to the necessity for the spreading of vegetable cultivation in India. There was only one article of nourishment more needed—milk. When he left India in 1939 he did not think there was a vegetable specialist in any part of India. Had the Punjab Government yet appointed such an expert?

Sir FIROZKHAN NOON said that he could not answer the last question, but could give some information regarding the other two. With regard to the spare land, in the food campaign every Province had been asked to bring every possible acre under irrigation in order to encourage cultivation, and there was machinery on order to put water on to the land. Experts saw these tracts of land and suggested that they be put into cultivation, but when one came to do so the problem was different. Sir Colin Garbutt went to the United Provinces and returned with the Tirai scheme for 50,000 acres of land in which the trees could be cut, bulldozed up and embankments made and cultivation carried on, but he had found a report on farming in that area by an Englishman. He protected himself against mosquitoes, but he could not protect his tenants; he could build iron fences to protect his crops until a herd of elephants trampled them down. He was defeated by the mosquito and the elephant.

The third point was with regard to the number of demobilized soldiers, who would want land. Six hundred thousand men had gone from the Punjab, but they would not all be demobilized at once; the decision as to the strength of the Indian Army after the war had yet to be made. Its services might be needed in the Eastern areas to police and keep order, and in that case demobilization would not be very rapid. The amount of land in the Punjab would not be nearly as much as he would like for the purpose of settling the soldiers, but something was better than nothing.

Miss M. E. CAMPBELL asked if any difference was made between Indians of different castes, to which Sir Firoz replied that no difference was made at all. They were all treated as soldiers.

Asked as to the provision made for Indian soldiers who were invalided out of the services, Sir FIROZ said that luckily so far there had been very few. Only twenty Indian soldiers had been blinded so far in this war, and for them a home had been opened where they were being trained to earn their own living. Others liked to go to their own homes and receive their pension. It would be difficult to create one centre where all the disabled soldiers could go for the purpose of running an industry.

Another question was whether the Indian soldiers had an association similar to the British Legion, to which Sir Firoz Khan Noon replied that the Soldiers' Boards in the various districts would act as the centre. There would be elected representatives of the soldiers themselves on the Boards who were living in the particular area, which would be the same sort of thing as the questioner had in mind.

General G. N. MOLESWORTH said that the Indian Army had done magnificently in this war and had saved the situation on many occasions. Many British people thought that the whole of the Indian Army consisted of the famous Fourth Division; but there were many others, some of whom had had their chance and had already proved themselves without being noticed, and others who would get their chance. The Indian Army had to be considered as a whole. He had heard that day that another V.C. had been awarded to the Indian Army.

They were rather inclined to think of the problems of resettlement on the provincial basis, but the Indian Army was drawn from all over India. The old idea that fighting men could only be found in certain areas was being refuted; excellent material was coming from areas which before this war it had not been necessary to tap. So that when the question of the rehabilitation of the soldier was being considered it had to be considered on an all-India basis. The Indian Army at the present time was probably one of the finest educational organizations in the whole of India with its broadening outlook, its team spirit, and its service overseas. It gave men an idea of what the world might be and what the India of the future might be. If they clung to the village pump and provincial organizations, then any scheme of rehabili-

tation in India for the soldier was liable to fail. He would like to see at the centre some form of a "general staff" in the civil rather than the military sense for social reorganization and social welfare which would benefit the soldier and help to build up the Indian standard of living until it corresponded more closely to what was known in Western countries.

Sir Firozkhan Noon had mentioned the question of the great amount of work which had been done in planning on the "secretary's level." Between the Secretary to Government and the soldier in the village, both in this country and in India, there was a great gulf fixed, and this gulf would have to be bridged by some permanent executive organization if all the plans which had been made were to reach fruition.

He proposed a hearty vote of thanks to Sir Firozkhan Noon for his most interesting speech, and to the Chairman for his presence and conduct of the meeting.

The PRESIDENT wished to add his personal thanks to Sir Firozkhan Noon for his extremely informative address and for his answers to questions. He had struck the three keynotes of the whole problem, which were demobilization, land, and employment, and if he could solve these three questions for the whole of the vast forces as they came back he would have done a wonderful piece of work for India and the Empire.



INDIA'S REPRESENTATIVES AT THE WAR CABINET

THE President (Major-General the Right Hon. Sir Frederick Sykes, M.P.) and the Council held a reception at the Imperial Institute, South Kensington, to meet Lieut.-General H.H. the MAHARAJA OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR, G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., K.C.V.O., Hon. A.D.C., and the Hon. Sir FIROZKHAN NOON, K.C.S.I., K.C.I.E., on Thursday, June 15, 1944. The guests, some 300 in number, were received by the President and Lady Sykes, Marie Marchioness of Willingdon, the Rt. Hon. L. S. Amery and Mrs. Amery.

The PRESIDENT said they were gathered together to welcome and honour the two principal guests. The Secretary of State for India would welcome them on behalf of the Association, but he would like to express the members' appreciation of the presence of H.E. the Nepalese Minister and Mr. and Mrs. Amery. Mr. R. A. Butler, M.P., was among those prevented from attending, on account of his recent accident, and they all wished him a speedy recovery.

The Rt. Hon. L. S. AMERY said that first he must speak of H.H. the Maharaja of Jammu and Kashmir. The ruling Princes of India had played a great part in India's romantic history. They had been allies and collaborators in the creation of the British Empire in India as it was today. They enjoyed under the Crown wide powers defined by treaty and by usage under which India's historic system of government flourished and continued in their own territories. They had played a great part in the past and might well play an even greater part in the future, for it was at any rate conceivable that the impetus to a true and agreed solution to India's constitutional problem might come from that quarter as well as from any other political quarter in India.

India's rulers and their forces played a great part in the last war; they had played an even greater part in the present war. His Highness himself had contributed the services of his troops not only within the confines of India but in the hard-fought battles of North Africa and of Syria, where his Mountain Battery greatly distinguished itself. He was not prepared to accept that contribution towards the expenses of his troops which the Government had given to other States Forces, which meant a very large sum of money. He had encouraged his subjects to enlist in the British Indian Army, and something like 40,000 had enlisted. He had contributed most generously from his purse, 18 ambulances among other things, and when leaving India he sent a contribution of £40,000 to the Viceroy which was to be devoted to the purchase of 18 fighters in the Indian Air Force. His State had played its part in the production of





every kind of war material; his walnut forests had produced the butts and stocks of the Army's rifles; his silk industry had been turned entirely to war purposes, more particularly for the manufacture of parachutes. Kashmir under his inspiration and leadership had played a part worthy of the largest and by universal consent the most beautiful state in India. In that effort he had been admirably seconded by the Maharanee, who had thrown herself with enthusiasm into the work of producing, packing and distributing a great volume of Red Cross comforts and in every good work had contributed to India's war effort.

As to Sir Firozkhan Noon, he was a member of that unique institution which, according to their several preferences, could be described as the beneficent British rule over India, or the tyrannous British imperialist domination over India, but which in fact consisted of Sir Firozkhan Noon and ten other Indian colleagues and four British colleagues. By a majority of their opinions the Viceroy was obliged to abide unless very grave reasons affecting safety and welfare enabled him with the support of the Secretary of State to veto them, subject to protest by Sir Firoz and his colleagues, a peculiar condition which had never in his own time arisen. He did not know how far the terms "beneficent British rule" or "British tyranny" really applied to that form of government, but it contained men who, even if they were not enrolled in one of the highly regimented party machines, did represent in their various aspects the public life of India, men who had played parts—Prime Ministers, Finance Ministers, or otherwise—in various Governments, and who had come forward because they wished to serve India. After all, when a man like Sir Ardeshir Dalal, the great industrialist, was ready to give up his industrial position in order to play his part in the work of reconstruction for the future regardless of immediate political issues, he could not be described as a mere nominee or "yes-man" of the Secretary of State.

Not the least distinguished of the Viceroy's Council was Sir Firozkhan Noon. He represented a type which had played a great and distinguished part in the political life of this country, regrettably less so in India—namely, the country gentleman who was prepared to give up his own close care of his estates and the field sports he loved for the sake of dedicating himself to public life. He had done so as a Minister for many years in the Punjab, he had done so as High Commissioner for India, in the course of which he made innumerable friends, and more recently as an active member of the Viceroy's Council.

The Maharaja and Sir Firozkhan Noon had come here at one of the most critical moments in the whole of history to represent India's outlook and point of view in the War Cabinet, and to carry back to India their impressions of how we, at the centre of things, were facing the endless succession of problems which arose. They had also had the advantage of participating fully in the grave and far-reaching deliberations of the Conference of Empire Prime Ministers which had only just dispersed. He thought they would go back feeling that they had taken part in the shaping of great events and to help India to feel what the British outlook was, not only towards India but also towards the whole of the world problems. In these India must increasingly take her part as she stepped forward into the ranks not only of a freely self-controlling member of the British Commonwealth, but also as one of the great nations of the world.

H.H. the MAHARAJA OF JAMMU AND KASHMIR said that it had been a great pleasure to him to be present, and he thanked Sir Frederick and the Council of the East India Association for giving him the opportunity of meeting its members. He always followed with great interest the work which the Association was doing. In these days it was essential that the people in this country should keep in constant touch with the problem of the future of India, and through the Association the facts were put before them in their true perspective.

He would like to thank Mr. Amery for the kind things he had said about his wife and his State. Mr. Amery had done everything possible to help him and to make his stay in this country pleasant, interesting and instructive, and he would like to express publicly his gratitude.

He had been fortunate in being in London during the historic entry of the Allied

forces into Rome and the invasion of France. These two enterprises had needed many months of careful planning, and as one of India's representatives in the War Cabinet it had been his privilege to see something of its work. They could look forward to the future success of the Allied armies on the Continent as well as in the Far East.

Sir FIROZKHAN NOON also expressed his gratitude to the Association for its very warm welcome and for the opportunity of meeting so many old friends. It was long ago when the British first went to the East and called India the East Indies, and he believed that it was from that that the Association took its name. He mentioned this to show the importance of India in the eyes of Europe and the significant place she held in the minds of her own children, who considered that India was not only the most important country in the East, but was one of the most important countries in the world. As time went on she would play a part which was not only worthy of her past but also befitting her greatness in every other sense.

He wished to say one or two things about India's war effort. All knew that India had an army of two million people. Some detractors said that those men served only because of their pay; that was not true, because in India there was still a great feeling of loyalty towards the Ruler—that is, for the ruler of a State or the King—and it was for that reason that throughout this war, or any other war, and under the most difficult circumstances, not only had men in the Indian forces made the highest sacrifices in serving their King and their country, but there was not a single case where an Indian soldier had mutinied or refused to do his duty. Before this war India had the largest standing and best trained army in the world, and during the first two years of the war all the victories that the Allies could claim to have achieved were due to the Indian Army, and it was for that reason that as an Indian he felt proud not only of the part that his country had played in the service of freedom during this war, but he looked forward with great pride and pleasure to the future, when it would play a proper part in establishing peace and freedom throughout the world.

Mr. Amery had referred to the fact that there were eleven Indian members of the Viceroy's Council out of sixteen, and that the view of the majority held the field. That was perfectly true, and it was for that reason that Indians were keen to remain part of the British Commonwealth of Nations, because they knew that they would carry the past practice into the larger meeting of the comity of nations within the British Empire, where India's growing strength and numbers would carry the day.

India in recent years had made wonderful strides. During the war she had gone ahead economically and financially very rapidly. The income per head per annum, probably the lowest before the war in the British Empire, had gone up by nearly 100 per cent., and the industrial production had increased so that India was producing nearly 90 per cent. of her needs so far as the war effort was concerned. The number employed in the factories had increased from 1 to $4\frac{1}{2}$ million people, and further great increases were hoped for.

The vast majority of Indian people had realized that so far as the freedom of their country was concerned it was theirs for the asking. If the Congress pundits stayed at home without wanting to walk out to meet the Muslim League to talk to them, and if the Muslim League stayed at home and would not go to talk things over with Congress, His Majesty's Government here could not be blamed for the non-co-operation which existed; the freedom of India would not walk over either to the Muslim League or to Congress; they would both have to walk out to receive it. The political impasse which now existed was temporary. During the war, if the war effort was not to be thwarted in any way, nothing much could be done; but if there was agreement amongst themselves after the war he believed, and the vast majority of his countrymen believed, that so far as this country and this Government was concerned there would be no opposition, but, on the contrary, a warm hand of support would be extended to India as an equal partner in this great comity of nations, which was the best hope for peace and freedom among the peoples of the world.

(End of the Proceedings of the East India Association.)

POST-WAR RECONSTRUCTION IN JAIPUR

By H. G. RAWLINSON, C.I.E.

It is interesting to see that the question of post-war reconstruction is beginning to be taken in hand in India. Very soon India, like the rest of the Empire, will be faced with the problem of finding homes and work for an immense number of demobilized soldiers and war workers, and of switching over her industries from the manufacture of war munitions to peace requirements. Unless she has her plans cut and dried in advance, the results are likely to be disastrous, and she will fail to reap the advantages gained by the industrial training of a large percentage of her population during the period of hostilities. Nobody wants a repetition of the unrest which had such unfortunate reactions all over India after the last war.

The Ruler of Jaipur, who now has the wise and experienced advice of Sir Mirza Ismail, whose great work as Dewan of Mysore for so many years is familiar to everyone, is to be congratulated on taking the lead in Rajputana. Jaipur is the foremost principality in that part of India, and, like all the Indian States, has sent a considerable contingent to the front. The chief problem is that of their re-employment on return to civil life. There can be no doubt that for them, as for other Indian soldiers, life in the army has meant a definite raising of standards. Travel in foreign lands, discipline, mixing with fellow-soldiers from other parts of India, regular food and other social amenities will have revolutionized their outlook. The Jaipur Government has wisely concluded that it would be most unfortunate if these men were to lose all that they have gained by their experiences. Their return will afford a unique opportunity of spreading a general spirit of uplift through their influence, provided, of course, that conditions are so planned by the State as to make this possible.

It was with this end in view that the Jaipur Government appointed a Committee to go into the various problems of post-war reconstruction—firstly, for the purpose of tackling the question of demobilization, and, secondly, in order to draw up a long-term programme for developing the resources of the State on a systematic and planned basis. The Committee was divided into four sub-committees, charged with the task of dealing with Agriculture, Health and Nutrition, Industry and Education.

Agriculture comes first on the list, as 66 per cent. of the population of Jaipur are engaged in cultivating the soil. It presents a number of difficulties, as the climate is hot and dry, the monsoon uncertain, and the soil, except in the south, poor and sandy. The main crops are cereals, pulse, hemp and flax, and camels, sheep and horses are bred in considerable numbers. The sub-committee in charge of this subject came to the conclusion that the most pressing needs were the development of irrigation, the use of improved agricultural methods, crop planning and co-operative farming. The sub-committee hopes that co-operative farming will lead in time to the consolidation of holdings. This would, of course, be a great achievement, as the fragmentation of the land is one of the chief causes of Indian poverty, and with the consolidation of holdings it would be possible to introduce modern agricultural machinery. But in view of the intense conservatism of the peasant all over India it is not easy to see how this will be accomplished. The sub-committee thinks that something might be done by setting up model villages colonized by retired soldiers, who would have previously been trained at the State breeding and dairy farm at Pilani. It is hoped that these will set an example to their neighbours, but the fate of the Gurgaon and other experiments in British India does not seem to provide a very happy augury for the success of the project.

Public health and nutrition are closely connected with agriculture, for although the people of Jaipur are classed with those of the Panjab as belonging to the more vigorous classes, most of the diseases are nutritional in origin. The villager's diet is limited and monotonous, consisting principally of *bajri*, *jowar* and barley. Wheat

and potatoes are only used by the well-to-do, and fruit and vegetables are practically unknown. Milk is consumed in insufficient quantities, owing to the defective methods of dairy farming and cattle-breeding at present in vogue. It is thought that the growing of vegetables in school gardens might become part of the educational curriculum, and this would enable a start to be made in varying and enriching the peasant's food.

Apart from nutritional defects, the high mortality in Jaipur is due to causes endemic all over rural India—insanitary habits and the lack of a pure water supply, dispensaries and midwives. "It is an admitted fact," says the Report, "that conditions of life in rural areas in Jaipur generally are primitive, public health services are practically nil, medical aid is scanty, and the people are mostly illiterate, backward, conservative in ideas, and economically very depressed." Sanitation, the sub-committee points out, can only be improved by the co-operation of all concerned—teachers, private individuals and village officers. Here, too, the returned soldier, who has had practical experience of the advantages of sanitation as practised in his regiment, can be of great assistance to his fellow-villagers. The sub-committee thinks that much might be accomplished by setting up rural panchayats who would see that villages were kept clean and sanitary rules were observed. Elementary rural hygiene should form an important part of the curriculum in the primary schools, together with plans for rural uplift, managed as far as possible by the villagers themselves and not by outside agencies.

Jaipur has long been famous for its handicrafts, enamel and damascene work, carved ivory, papier mâché, pottery, lacquer, carpets and textiles being some of the chief articles which find a ready market with the tourist. These are important, for the development of cottage industries would substantially assist the villager, who requires subsidiary employment in order to fill up the idle months between the sowing and the reaping of the crops. At present the Jaipur craftsman is illiterate, his tools are primitive, and there is no organized means of bringing his goods to the market. The Committee proposes a central emporium of handicrafts maintained by the State. It should combine a museum of products with a sales department. The principal duty of the emporium would be to distribute price lists and catalogues, advertise goods, establish agencies, get in touch with the trade commissioners of other countries and open stalls in exhibitions. Care must be taken to avoid so commercializing Indian art in this way as to extinguish the old arts and crafts, which have found their last refuge in the Indian States. Apart from handicrafts, the industrial sub-committee visualizes a long-term programme for the establishment of large-scale industries such as cement works, tanning, sugar refining, the manufacture of power alcohol and so forth. It also advocates the reopening of the old Khetri copper-mines.

As regards education, the sub-committee has equally ambitious aims. At present the figures of literacy in the State are very low, the total number of literate people in a population of 3,000,000 being only 162,000. The sub-committee aims at a twenty-five year plan for the introduction of universal primary education. This is a long step from present conditions, but the Birla Education Trust, which at present controls the largest number of schools in the State, has a scheme for providing a school within three miles of every village as a beginning. Various proposals follow for making primary education more effective than at present, but the chief difficulty in Jaipur, as in other parts of India, will be to prevent parents from taking their children away from school as soon as they are old enough to be useful at home. It has been found by experience that all except those who stay at school until they reach Class IV. eventually lapse into illiteracy, and the money spent on them is entirely wasted. As the Committee suggests, the cure for this state of affairs is to make rural education less literary and more practical in character. Suitable textbooks for this purpose are being prepared, and it is rightly insisted that the Boy Scout movement might be usefully employed to help in arousing the villager from his age-long apathy and spreading rural uplift. No mention is made of the use of the radio or cinema or other means of imparting visual education which have been found so efficacious in other parts of rural India.

Still more sweeping are the proposals about university education. The Committee

considers that the Maharaja's College is hampered by its affiliation with Agra University, and that Jaipur should have a university of its own, with constituent colleges in and outside the city. Education is to be through the medium of English, to which language the student will suddenly be diverted in his last year at school. Apparently the curriculum is to consist of such miscellaneous subjects as present-day problems, the history of Rajputana, the facts and principles of science, and "the expert analysis of facts relating to economic and social life." These ambitious proposals appear somewhat premature until the standard of elementary education is greatly raised. But much the same can be said of the vast scheme of educational reconstruction in British India outlined by Mr. John Sargent in the present issue, and the expenditure it will require.

It is to be regretted that more is not told us about the steps to be taken to raise the necessary funds for financing these extensive undertakings. We are informed, for instance, that for industrial development cheap power is essential. But where is it to come from? There are no forests capable of supplying wood for fuel and no coal-mines. Oil is very difficult to obtain. The Committee in question falls back upon water-power; but the Banas River is the sole source which could be utilized, and that only by building a reservoir with a water spread of thirty-five miles. The cost of such a scheme would be prohibitive, especially in view of the rise in the price of machinery. Yet all that the Committee has to say is that "funds for the extra outlay necessitated by a depression, and designed to create outlay and maintain incomes, must be found somehow, and borrowing may be resorted to if necessary, provided that this policy is supplemented by arrangements for the prompt repayment of loans when private industry has been stimulated adequately, and does not need support from State activity." And this criticism, unfortunately, applies equally to the majority of the proposals in this interesting Report.

It is important to bear in mind in this connection that the Maharaja, who set up last year a Reforms Committee under the advice of Sir Mirza Ismail, has authorized a series of constitutional reforms which have the effect of associating the people of the State much more closely with the administration. The Legislative Council now being established will consist of fifty-one members, of whom thirty-seven will be elected. The remaining fourteen will consist of Ministers and nominated members. Twenty-five of the elected members will sit for territorial constituencies, while the sirdars will elect eight members in recognition of their special position for so many centuries in the State. Three members will be returned by special constituencies—namely, trade and industry, women and labour.

A Representative Assembly is also to be established consisting of 125 members, of whom eighty-nine will be elected by territorial constituencies, twenty-five by the sirdars and two each by the special constituencies of trade and industry, women and labour, and the remaining five to be filled by nomination. Four out of twenty-five general seats in the Legislative Council and eleven out of eighty-nine in the Representative Assembly are reserved for the Muslim community. The Legislative Council will make laws, discuss and vote on the Budget, and interpellate the Government on matters of public interest. Elections to the Representative Assembly will be on a joint electorate basis.

On the question of Muslim representation the proclamation issued by the Maharaja states: "Happily, communal discord has not disfigured the history of Jaipur. Politically the interests of the Muslims and the Hindus are identical; and in spite of the Muslim demand for separate electorates, the outcome of new-born political consciousness, it is my firm conviction that, given the mutual confidence which has been a marked characteristic of my people throughout the years, the Muslims do not stand in need of any special statutory protection. I have therefore decided that my Muslim subjects should seek election to the Legislature on the basis of joint electorates. Nevertheless, to ensure the return of an adequate number of Muslims, I consider that four out of twenty-five general seats in the Legislative Council and eleven out of eighty-nine general seats in the Representative Assembly should be reserved for the Muslim community."

MAKER OF MODERN CHINA: THE STORY OF SUN YAT-SEN

BY DR. HU SHIH

(Now "higher adviser to the Executive Yuan," Dr. Hu, veteran revolutionary and one of China's greatest living scholars and philosophers, was Chinese Ambassador to the United States from 1938 to 1942.)

DR. SUN YAT-SEN was born in a farming village in Hsiang Shan Hsien, in the Province of Kwangtung, in 1866—two years after the ending of the great Taiping Rebellion (1850-64) and 222 years after the Manchus entered China and founded the Ching dynasty (1644).

He once said of himself: "I am a coolie and the son of a coolie. I was born with the poor, and I am still poor. My sympathies have always been with the struggling mass."

When twelve years old he went to Honolulu in 1879 to visit his emigrant elder brother, and was sent to a boys' school, where, at the end of the third year, he was awarded the second prize in English grammar. He returned home in 1883. From 1884 to 1886 he studied at Queen's College, Hong-Kong. It was in Hong-Kong that he became a baptized Christian.

In 1886 he took up medicine under the American missionary surgeon, Dr. John A. Kerr, in Canton. When the new Medical School was established in Hong-Kong in 1887, Sun-Yat-sen was the first student to register. Here he studied for five years and was graduated in 1892 with a certificate of proficiency in medicine and surgery.

He practised medicine and surgery in Macao and then in Canton. But his professional career did not last long. For he had become interested in other and more important things. He had already become the leader of a secret movement for the reform and remaking of China.

Dr. Sun tells us that his revolutionary plans dated back to the year 1885, when China fought France and was defeated, resulting in the loss of Annam. "I resolved in that year that the Manchu régime must go and that a Chinese republic must be established." He was then in his nineteenth year. From that time on, says he, "the school was my place of propaganda, and medicine my medium for entrance into the world."

In 1893, on the eve of the first Sino-Japanese War, Dr. Sun made a visit to North China and presented a memorandum to the Chinese statesman Li Hung-chang. The memorandum is remarkable as a record of the young revolutionary's early political ideas. In this paper Dr. Sun formulated the four fundamental objectives of a modern State: (1) to enable man to exert his utmost capability, (2) to utilize land to its utmost fertility, (3) to use material nature to its utmost utility, and (4) to circulate goods with the utmost fluidity.

The next year (1894) war broke out between China and Japan. China was badly defeated, and the weakness of the old régime was clearly exposed to the whole nation and to the whole world.

Dr. Sun thought this was the best opportunity for the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. He went to Honolulu and founded the Hsing Chung Hui (Society for the Restoring of China). He returned to China early in 1895 and began to plot for an armed uprising and seizure of the city of Canton as a base of the revolution. It was an elaborate plot, requiring half a year of preparation and involving hundreds of people. But it failed, and over seventy were arrested. Three were executed, including one of Dr. Sun's intimate comrades. A prize of 1,000 dollars was set on Sun's person. He was only twenty-nine.

KIDNAPPED IN LONDON

After his escape from Canton, Dr. Sun went to Japan, whence he proceeded to Honolulu and visited the United States for the first time. In September, 1896, Dr. Sun sailed from New York for England, arriving in London on October 1.

On October 11, 1896, Dr. Sun was kidnapped by officials of the Chinese Legation. He was imprisoned there for twelve days, and it was undoubtedly the intention of the Chinese Government to smuggle him back to China to be executed as the arch-enemy of the Throne.

By winning the sympathy of an English servant in the legation, Dr. Sun succeeded in sending a message to his English teacher and host, Dr. James Cantlie. Through the efforts of Dr. Cantlie the story was published in a London newspaper, and the Chinese Legation immediately became the centre of newspaper reporters. The secretary of the legation had to admit the presence of an involuntary guest at the legation! At the request of the British Secretary of Foreign Affairs, Dr. Sun was released on October 23.

This dramatic episode made his name known throughout the United Kingdom, Europe and America. It made him a world figure at the age of thirty.

For two years (1896-98) he remained in England and Europe. These years were most fruitful in the development of his political and social ideas. "What I saw and heard during those two years," said Dr. Sun, "gave me much insight [into the situation in the West]. I began to realize that, in spite of great achievements in wealth and military prowess, the Great Powers of Europe have not yet succeeded in providing the greatest happiness of the vast majority of the people, and that the reformers in these European countries were working hard for a new social revolution. This led my thought toward a more fundamental solution of China's problems. I was, therefore, led to include the principle of the people's livelihood on the same level as the principles of nationalism and democracy. This was formulated in my three principles."

It was about this time that he made a study of the socialistic literature of England and continental Europe. He was especially influenced by Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*. He never became a single taxer, but George's theories on the social origin of the rise of land value and the importance of public control of land left a permanent impression on his social teachings.

After leaving Europe in 1898 he returned to the East and resided in Japan for two years (1898-1900). He came into contact with the leaders of the popular parties of Japan.

China was then going through turbulent times. Japan, Russia, Germany, Britain, and France had seized important territories from China. The country was being mapped out into "spheres of influence" of imperialistic powers. There was much talk about the "partitioning of China."

The glamorous "one hundred days' reforms" came in 1898 and were swept away by the reactionary forces under the leadership of the ignorant Empress-Dowager. Then came the Boxer movement in 1900, which resulted in the armed intervention by the joint forces of eight foreign Powers.

Dr. Sun saw in this situation his opportunity for another attempt to start his anti-monarchical revolution, which was launched in the autumn of 1900 at Canton and Huichow.

During the first years of the new century thousands of Chinese students were flocking to Japan to study at her schools and universities. Dr. Sun found many of these mature students ready to listen to his teachings and follow his leadership. So in 1905 he founded in Tokyo the Chung-kuo Tung-meng Hui (the Chinese Society of Covenanters), with original members representing seventeen of the eighteen provinces of China. Each member must pledge under oath solemnly to carry out the terms of the covenant, to wit: (1) Drive away the Tartars, (2) recover China for the Chinese, (3) establish a republic, (4) equalize ownership of land.

NINE REVOLTS FAIL

From 1906 to 1911 at least ten uprisings were started. (He counted only nine as under the direction of himself or the party.) Nine times they failed, each time costing the lives of many heroic martyrs. But the tenth uprising, which broke out at Wuchang, opposite Hankow, on October 10, 1911, finally succeeded. In the brief time of a month thirteen of the eighteen provinces responded to the revolutionary call and declared their independence of the Manchu dynasty.

Dr. Sun was then in America and read the news of the Wuchang success in a morning paper at a small hotel in Denver, Colorado. He quietly travelled eastward to New York and thence to England and Europe, finally sailing from Marseilles in November and arriving in Shanghai on December 24.

On December 29, 1911, the Provisional Senate of the Republic met and by a vote of sixteen to one elected Sun Yat-sen Provisional President of the Republic. On New Year's Day, 1912, he was inaugurated President at Nanking.

Meanwhile negotiations had been going on for a peaceful coming together of the provinces. The dynasty was no longer capable of making any resistance. But a powerful Chinese politician, Yuan Shih-kai, was in command of a formidable army. The objective in the negotiations was to win over Yuan Shih-kai to the support of the Revolution.

On February 12 the Throne abdicated, thus terminating 267 years of Manchu rule in China. On the 13th Dr. Sun presented his resignation to the Provisional Senate. The next day his resignation was accepted and Yuan Shih-kai was elected Provisional President.

Dr. Sun was Provisional President only forty-five days. His resignation was an act of self-sacrifice best symbolizing his great patriotism and his Christian spirit.

Unfortunately, the man on whom Dr. Sun had placed his mantle turned out to be reactionary and a traitor to the Republic.

In the next few years a fierce struggle went on between Dr. Sun's newly reorganized party, the Kuomintang (the People's Party) and the reactionary forces under Yuan Shih-kai. The Kuomintang had an overwhelming majority in both Houses of the new Parliament elected in 1913. But the reaction had military and financial power on its side. The Kuomintang was dissolved by force, and finally the Parliament was dissolved by force. Dr. Sun went into exile in Japan, and Yuan Shih-kai soon made himself Emperor. All liberal parties united in fighting against this monarchical restoration. Yuan Shih-kai died a disappointed man on June 6, 1916. But the dark forces he had released lived on after him and ran amok for a number of years to come.

For the next decade (1916-25) Dr. Sun sometimes lived in Shanghai, devoting his time to studying and writing, but on many occasions he took an active part in revolutionary campaigns against the militaristic reaction. His successes were only intermittent and insignificant.

RUSSIAN EXAMPLE FOLLOWED

In 1924 he undertook a radical reorganization of his party on the model of the Communist Party in Soviet Russia. This reorganization, in the light of history, was far more significant than his many political and military campaigns since the founding of the Republic. The important steps taken at that time included (1) the enlargement of party membership by soliciting the enrolment of younger men and women throughout the country; (2) the formal admission of members of the Chinese Communist Party to active membership in the Kuomintang; (3) the employment of a number of Russian political and military advisers; (4) the revival of nationalism as the paramount issue, aiming at the freeing of China from the historical shackles of the "unequal treaties" which the imperialistic Powers had imposed on China for nearly a century; (5) the founding of the Whampoa Military Academy under the directorship of Chiang Kai-shek for the training of new and ideologically inspired officers as a nucleus of a new Revolutionary Army.

None of these important measures had shown tangible results when Dr. Sun died in Peking on March 12, 1925. But he had the satisfaction to read on his death-bed the cheering news that in that very week his armies under the lead of the young officers of the Whampoa Academy were scoring crushing victories over the reactionary forces. Two weeks after his death the province of Kwangtung was entirely free from opposing forces, and thus became the consolidated base for the new Nationalist Revolution of which Dr. Sun had dreamed for years, but which did not succeed in unifying the nation until a few years after his death.

In 1918 Dr. Sun planned to write a series of books under the general scheme of "planning for national reconstruction." His plan was interrupted by subsequent

political activities, and only the following works were published: (1) *The Philosophy of Sun Wen* (1919); (2) *The First Step in Democracy* (which is a translation of an American textbook on parliamentary rules) (1919); (3) *The International Development of China* (1921)*; (4) *An Outline of National Reconstruction for the National Government* (1924); (5) *Sixteen Lectures on San Min Chu I* (1924).

NATIONALISM MADE DRIVING FORCE

Dr. Sun's greatest contribution to Chinese nationalism lies in the great vigour and force of his personal leadership, which revitalized the nationalistic consciousness of the Chinese people and made it the irresistible driving force, first against the alien rule of the Manchu dynasty, and later against foreign domination in China. He lived to see the overthrow of the Manchu dynasty. But history will undoubtedly give him full credit for his part in the new nationalist movement which has made possible the political unification of China, the long and successful resistance to Japanese aggression, and, last but not least, the final abolition of the "unequal treaties" which was realized last year by the new treaties concluded between China and Great Britain and between China and the United States respectively.

It was fortunate for China and for the world that the movement of Chinese nationalism was led and guided by Dr. Sun, whose Anglo-Saxon education, scientific training, and international outlook were all great assets in directing what might have been a destructive and explosive force into moderate and constructive channels.

Of the six lectures he had planned on the people's livelihood, only four were delivered. In the incomplete documents he has left us there is not much in his economic programme which can be regarded as truly new. His contribution consists in his moderation and usual eclecticism. Although he was at one time willing to co-operate with the Communists, he was never converted to the Marxist theories of class struggle and materialistic interpretation of history. He had great faith in the power of the non-economic factors in history—the power of the mind, the will, and the ideas. Indeed, his book *The Philosophy of Sun Wen* was published with the sub-title "Psychological Reconstruction." He was never tired of preaching that a psychological and intellectual revolution must precede any important political and economic change. And the story of his life was the best proof of the validity of this faith.

A concise summary of his economic programme is found in his *Outline of National Reconstruction*. It contains these:

(1) The Government must provide for the four basic needs of the people—namely, food, clothing, housing, and locomotion.

(2) Each *hsien* (county) government, inaugurating self-government, must first determine the value of all privately owned land within its jurisdiction. The owners shall themselves report the land value, and the Government shall assess taxes on the basis of the declared value. All subsequent rise in land value due to political improvement and social progress shall be considered as the public property of the people. (Note the influence of Henry George's *Progress and Poverty*.)

(3) All "unearned increment" of land value, all products of public domain, all yield from the natural resources of the nation (such as mines, water-power, and forests), shall be the public property of the local governments, and shall be used for public enterprises and for public benefit.

(4) When a local government is incapable of undertaking alone the developing of its natural resources, industries, or commercial enterprises, the Central Government shall give aid to secure the needed capital.

(5) A plank not included in the *Outline*, but often discussed in his lectures is the idea of "regulation of capital." Dr. Sun never advocated the abolition of private enterprise or private capital. But capital must be subject to the proper regulation of the Government in the interest of the people.

* Recently published in this country on behalf of the Chinese Ministry of Information by Hutchinson and Co.

POLITICAL BACKGROUND WAS ANGLO-SAXON

Throughout his whole life Dr. Sun was essentially under the influence of the political thinking and political institutions of the Anglo-Saxon nations. The democratic ideas and practices of Switzerland and France also had great influence on him.

But he was always interested in two political institutions developed by the Chinese people throughout the ages. The first is the competitive examination system for the Civil Service. This he wished to preserve in a modernized form. The other is the system of censorial control over the Government. This was a peculiarly Chinese institution by which the Chinese Government created its own check and opposition, and which empowered a special branch of the Government to censure and impeach the Government, not excepting the Emperor himself and his family. This institution Dr. Sun also wished to preserve in his new Constitution.

Therefore Dr. Sun works out what he calls the five-power Constitution, the five being: executive, legislative, judiciary, examinational, and censorial control.

The examinational power means placing all Civil Service under the merit system. The power of censorial control means taking out of the traditional Parliament those semi-judicial powers of interrogation, inquiry, public investigation and hearing, and impeachment, and making them into a separate and independent power of the Government. It should also include the checking and auditing of all governmental accounts.

Dr. Sun had no use for the negative or *laissez-faire* theory of government. He wanted a Government with tremendous powers to do big things for the nation and the people. He said that the fear of a powerful and effective Government was due to a fundamental defect in political thinking—a lack of confidence in the power of the people to control a Government when it becomes too powerful. This defect can be remedied by a proper conception of the difference between political sovereignty and administrative capability or efficiency. The Government must have administrative capability to do things, but the people should have the sovereign power to control it. It is foolish to assert popular sovereignty at the expense of administrative capability. The objective of democratic control of the Government, therefore, should not be to paralyse administrative effectiveness, but only to safeguard the people against possible abuse of power by the Government.

Dr. Sun thinks that the safeguard lies in extending the political powers of the people. The people must have four political powers: (1) the power of voting at the elections; (2) the power of recall (that is, recall of elected officers); (3) the power of initiative (that is, of initiating legislation); (4) the power of referendum (that is, having legislation referred back to the people). These institutions of "direct democracy" have been taken by Dr. Sun from Switzerland and such north-western States of the U.S.A. as Oregon. Dr. Sun was confident that the full exercise of these four powers by the people in a constitutional democracy will insure against the danger of any Government becoming too powerful for the safety and well-being of the people.

The tragic experiences of the early years of the Republic had modified the early optimistic enthusiasm of the Father of the Chinese Revolution and led him to work out his theory of the "Three Stages of National Reconstruction." The three stages are: (1) the military or revolutionary stage, (2) the tutelage or guardianship stage, and (3) the constitutional stage.

Any province which is fully unified and pacified shall immediately inaugurate its second stage of political tutelage. During the tutelage period the Government should despatch trained and selected officials to assist the localities in achieving self-government. When a county has completed its population census, its land survey, its road-building programme, and when the people of the county have been sufficiently trained in the exercise of their fourfold political powers, such a county shall be declared to have attained the status of self-government, and shall henceforth elect its own executive and legislative officers.

Any province wherein all the counties have attained self-government shall inaugurate its constitutional Government. When more than half of the total number of provinces have attained self-government there shall be called the national assembly,

which shall decide upon a national Constitution and proclaim it. Hereafter the people shall hold the national election in accordance with the Constitution. The provisional national Government shall resign three months after the completion of the elections and transfer the administration to the popularly elected Government.

PROVERBIAL PHILOSOPHY AN OBSTACLE

The real enemies of the revolution and national reconstruction, says Dr. Sun, are psychological and philosophical. Experience had taught him that the greatest obstacle to a successful revolution in China was to be found in the proverbial philosophy of the Chinese people, which holds that "to know is easy, but to act is difficult." Dr. Sun maintains that it is this traditional philosophy which has paralysed action and retarded progress.

To counteract this psychological defeatism Dr. Sun proposes his own philosophy of life and action: "To know is difficult, but to act is easy." This apparently paradoxical dictum he tries to establish in his book *The Philosophy of Sun Wen*.

He cites ten groups of facts as proofs of his philosophy. To eat, for example, is easy; yet how many persons can claim to know all the scientific facts concerning the physiology of feeding and digestion and the chemistry of nutrition and dietetics? Does this lack of knowledge ever deter anyone from the simple and necessary act of eating?

Similarly, it is exceedingly easy for everybody to spend money, but it is very difficult indeed even for the trained social scientist to grasp the subtleties and mysteries of that wonderful branch of knowledge called economics.

His other proofs include house-building, ship-building, electricity, and such early chemical industries as the making of soya-bean curd and the manufacture of porcelain. In all these, he points out that action often comes before knowledge and sometimes even without knowledge; that the task of knowing is necessarily confined to the few—the architect who plans the skyscraper or designs the ocean liner, or the inventor of the telephone or the wireless telegraphy, or the chemist who analyses the bean curd and theorizes about its nutritional value; and that, for the vast majority of people, action even in such difficult matters as modern ship-building is possible and easy if they will only follow the blueprints worked out by those who know.

All action becomes impossible only when people are frightened by the defeatist preachings of the false prophets "who fear what they ought not to fear, and who fear not what they ought to fear." They teach that knowledge is easy, whereas it is, in fact, not easy. And they fear that action is difficult, whereas it is not difficult at all.

Dr. Sun's philosophy of action, therefore, teaches "that most men can act even without knowledge, that they surely can act with the aid of knowledge, and that they will act better with the increasing knowledge which comes from the experience of action." Follow leadership and respect those who know. But do not let your adoration of knowledge deter you from the courage to act!

DISCUSSION ON THE ADVISABILITY OF REOPENING THE SUGGESTION TO ESTABLISH AN ORIENTAL MUSEUM IN LONDON

A MEETING was held at the home of the Universities' China Committee, 16, Gordon Square, London, W.C. 1, on January 12, 1944, in support of the proposal to establish in London an Oriental Museum, covering, if possible, the whole of Asia. The Chair was taken by the Most Honourable the MARQUESS OF ZETLAND, K.G., P.C., G.C.S.I., G.C.I.E., and the meeting was addressed by Major-General Sir NEILL MALCOLM, K.C.B., D.S.O.

The CHAIRMAN said: I have been requested to take the Chair at this meeting, but I am conscious of the fact that I require introducing to this audience far more than

the lecturer, Sir Neill Malcolm, because he is, I venture to say, personally known to everybody in this room. You all know his highly distinguished military career, but it is not with military matters that we are concerned here today. He comes before us in a very different capacity. Amongst other things, he is a discriminating collector of examples of the art of China, that wonderful art of the Chinese people which constitutes so remarkable a contribution to the world's cultural heritage.

The particular subject upon which he is going to speak to you this afternoon is the desirability of resuscitating an idea which has been discussed fairly frequently for a number of years past—namely, that of establishing in this the metropolis of the British Empire an Oriental Museum, covering, if possible, the whole of Asia, so that all those who are interested in the civilization and culture of that vast and interesting continent may find assembled under one roof the exhibits which are necessary to enable them to study and to enter into the great civilizations which have grown up upon the soil of that continent. I am not going to fall into the error into which chairmen sometimes fall—namely, that of travelling over the ground which the lecturer is going to cover, and, as often as not, queering the pitch for him; so I will ask Sir Neill Malcolm to speak at once.

SIR NEILL MALCOLM: My Lord Chairman, Ladies and Gentlemen,—I will begin by thanking you, Lord Zetland, for your great kindness in coming here and taking the Chair for me today. We all know what a busy man our Chairman is in the North and how all too rare are his visits to London, and it is therefore a very gracious act on his part to spare an hour of his time to listen to my plea for an Oriental Museum in London. I trust—and he has led us to hope—that before this meeting comes to a conclusion he will give us the benefit of his own wide experience and wise advice.

I should explain why it is I am here today. When we first began to talk, two or three of us amongst ourselves and quite unofficially, about the Oriental Museum and the possibility or wisdom of reviving an old idea, it was found that all the people who really ought to be addressing you today were precluded by their official or semi-official positions from doing so. Those are the people, the heads of our great Museums and so forth, who have all the learning and wide experience and knowledge of Museums, both in this country and abroad, which ought to be brought to bear upon the discussion of this subject.

For myself, I possess neither the learning nor the experience nor the knowledge which is necessary, and that, I think you will agree, is not a very convincing qualification, but I am buoyed up by the knowledge that it is no new idea which I am putting forward. It is a matter which has been already discussed, and my only contribution, if you can call it that, is to try to provoke some further discussion which I trust will be more fruitful than any talk of mine, and to show that now, if ever, is the time for this scheme to be revived.

I am therefore all the more appreciative of your action, sir, in coming and taking the Chair today. All the ground which I shall cover has been covered before, and all the suggestions I shall put forward are borrowed, not to say stolen. I should like to look upon this as a revivalist meeting, and my only excuse is that the idea and suggestions are good, and I believe this is the right time and the China Institute a very proper place in which to revive them.

At the present moment the air is full of schemes of reconstruction, and we who are here today hope that we shall still live to see the time when we shall have an enormous opportunity which we must not neglect.

The establishment of an Oriental Museum in London was recommended by Lord D'Abernon's Committee in 1929, but their recommendations never got very far, partly because of the great financial slump of the early 'thirties, just about the time his Report was published. The project was also very fully discussed in a Committee organized by the India Society in 1931. I should like you to know the names of that Committee, because it was an extremely influential and powerful body. They were: Mr. George Eumorfopoulos, Sir Eric Maclagan, Dr. (afterwards Sir) George Hill, Sir Henry Miers, Professor J. L. Myers, Mr. F. Richter, Sir Denison Ross, Professor Seligman, Mr. John de la Valette, Dr. Perceval Yetts, Sir Francis Younghusband, Mr. Oscar Raphael, together with our Chairman of today, Lord Zetland.

Lord D'Abernon's Report was published by the Stationery Office, but even more important than the recommendation of the Committee was a little pamphlet compiled by our popular and very able Secretary, Mr. Richter. This little pamphlet, which I am sorry to say is now unobtainable, contains a full verbatim report of the proceedings at India House on May 6, 1931, with Sir Francis Younghusband in the Chair, and was published under the auspices of that Committee whose names I have read out to you. If it were obtainable I should have nothing more to do than to hand each one of you a copy and ask you to take it away and read it. You would all be convinced that the proposed Museum was even then an urgent need, and today is an absolute necessity.

However, as the pamphlet is unfortunately not obtainable I must read out, if you will forgive me, a few extracts from the copy which I have in my hand.

First of all, there was a very general consensus of opinion—indeed, I may say, agreement—that our existing Museums are hopelessly overcrowded and badly in need of space. Remember, that was twelve years ago, and the state of affairs must certainly be worse today. We know that when the late Mr. George Eumorfopoulos's collection was handed over to the nation—or really only a part of it—it could not be shown complete either at the Victoria and Albert Museum or the British Museum, but was split up between the two, so that no one who had not been rather familiar with the collection before could really obtain a comprehensive view and understanding of how great his contribution to learning really was.

In further illustration of the state of affairs which existed in 1931, Dr. Hill (now Sir George Hill), at that time Director of the British Museum, stated that, when at the time of the Persian Exhibition he tried to make an exhibit of our own Persian treasures, he had to gather them from ten different departments. In speaking of the overcrowding, he said: "Mr. Binyon will tell you that it is only possible to exhibit 3 per cent. at one time of the paintings in the special department under his charge." Sir Eric Maclagan spoke in exactly the same terms, and Mr. Binyon, in his turn, referring to the collections brought from Central Asia by Sir Aurel Stein, now in the British Museum, declared that "it is a crying shame and disgrace that, while Berlin, even in its impoverishment, has superbly housed and exhibited the parallel collections made by von Le Coq, here in London, for want of space, we are able to show but one out of several hundreds of paintings from this wonderful collection, which illustrates so richly all those contacts of which Dr. Hill has spoken, and which shows an art in which Indian, Persian, Chinese, and Greek elements are all brought together." He added: "I certainly think that as far as the Eastern collections in London are concerned the British public does not get its money's worth or anything like it."

I emphasize that passage in which Mr. Binyon spoke of the art of India, Persia, China, and Greece being all brought together in Asia as evidence of the difficulty of dividing Asian art into different categories. They are all so very closely united. The intercommunication is so near and intimate that to my mind it is important that that characteristic should be fully maintained in any museum which it may be decided to erect.

We all know the history of the goddess Kwai'nin, how she started as a male figure,* with a moustache, in India, and was adopted into China, and under the mellowing influence of his new country became first a female goddess and then a mother, a "goddess" of mercy being a more suitable figure for Chinese philosophy than a warrior-like gentleman with a fierce moustache. In the other direction, of course, you can find Chinese influence going into India and Persia, while, again, the Buddhism of India goes into China. It is all so intermingled that I suggest that a comprehensive museum is what we want.

I could go on reading from this pamphlet a great many more convincing and cogent arguments, but I want to leave time for discussion, and I will only add one more word from Sir George Hill, who, in a few remarks towards the very end, said (and I think this is a most important suggestion, although it did not attract much attention at the time): "We ought to talk of a museum illustrating Asiatic or Oriental civilization, not merely Oriental art. It should be a museum of Oriental

* The Bodhisattra Ayalokitesvara.

Civilization." I am sure that he was right, and you will agree that in making that very stimulating suggestion he was opening an important door.

That is the last of my quotations, but all through this pamphlet you will find certain fundamental ideas: first, that Asia is one and indivisible; second, that this country of Great Britain has an older connection with and a greater interest in Asia than any other; third, that our understanding of Asian civilization is not what it should be, and can only be gained through its own expression—that is, through art; and, fourth, that we have in this country already the finest Oriental collections in the world, but for want of adequate space they cannot be shown, and the people of this country cannot and do not profit from them as they should.

I confess that I find these extracts and arguments quite convincing. But there is one argument—a really powerful one—which I must not conceal from you. It is put forward by those who contend, by no means unreasonably, that we have not in this country a sufficient number of trained experts adequately to staff a Museum of Oriental Civilization, even if we had one. That is really a very serious indictment, but it is justified, and we here in our small way, in the Universities' China Committee, know well how difficult it is to find persons fully qualified to fill the Chairs which we have established at Oxford, Cambridge, London, and Manchester Universities. It is very difficult to get qualified men to fill those Chairs, and consequently very difficult to get more than a very small number of students.

It may be that in the beginning we were wrong and would have done better to concentrate our efforts upon one Centre rather than to spread such money and such energy as we had over four different universities. But that is done now, and we have to make the best of it. It is a fact, however, that we have lamentably few students. Nevertheless, I contend that that fact is not an argument against having a Centre of Oriental civilization, but in favour of it. If there were a Centre, if there were something to look to, we should be able easily to attract sufficient men and women to fill every post. But it is certainly true at the present moment that this great country and Empire, which has had a longer and greater interest in the East than any other, is sadly lacking in first-class orientalists. We had, and have, some very great ones, but the number is lamentably few. We have done little or nothing to attract or encourage Oriental students even since Lord Curzon expressed his astonishment at the state of affairs he found in India.

If we are going to attract students as we should, we must have openings for them. There must be scholarships to attract them to the universities and travelling scholarships and openings to some sort of a career. Otherwise it is unfair to expect the youth of this country to give up their time and their lives to something which does not offer them a living wage. That is exactly what the proposed Museum of Asiatic Civilization would provide. It would be a centre of both aesthetic enjoyment and of learning. I should hate to think we were trying to divide the two.

I will not keep you much longer, but before I sit down I should like to revert to my question of the opportunity. Supposing we admit for the sake of argument that this Museum of Asiatic Civilization is a necessity, is the present the right time to revive the idea? We know that now and after the war there are and will be many crying needs. Vast demands will be made for money and for men. Numbers of social projects and of artistic and other projects will assert their claims. But I believe that not only is this the time, but that we who are now alive have an opportunity which, as I have said, will not recur. It is our absolute duty not to let it slip.

There will be many pressing calls for help from public and private resources, but there is one thing we simply must do somehow or other—we must make London the greatest centre of beauty and learning in the world. That is, to my mind, the most urgent duty which lies upon us and upon those who survive the war. Hitler himself has given us a rare chance. Many beautiful places and things have been destroyed, and more will go before the war is over. We do not know what may happen in Rome or Florence or Athens or Paris or Brussels, or indeed in Peiping. We do know that Naples has been wantonly damaged and many precious treasures have been carried off from all parts of Europe to Germany, whence they may or may not be recovered. How marvellously fortunate are we in this country compared with the peoples of those other great cities which I have mentioned! We, too, have suffered,

and may suffer more still, but it is just the damage which has been, and still may be, inflicted on London which has given us this wonderful chance of reconstruction. We simply must not miss it. We may for the moment be lacking in great Oriental scholars, but we have great collections and we still have great collectors. If we have the will we can still make London what it should be, the world's Centre of Oriental Culture and Civilization.

DISCUSSION

THE CHAIRMAN: With characteristic modesty Sir Neill Malcolm, in his opening remarks, disclaimed possession of the knowledge which would justify him in giving a lead upon this subject. Now that we have heard what he has had to say, we are more satisfied than we were before that it is only due to his characteristic modesty that he made such an observation, for it is quite clear that he has loved, thought, pondered upon, and studied the subject which he has been discussing.

It occurs to me that there may be those amongst this audience who, before I ask anybody to take part in discussion, may have certain questions which they would like to put to the lecturer, possibly to elucidate points on which their minds are not clear. If that is so I suggest that it would be to the advantage of our proceedings this afternoon if anyone who has a question were now to ask it.

A member of the audience asked whether any suitable site in London had been tentatively considered.

SIR NEILL MALCOLM: I have thought of many suitable great houses, but before we think of a site at all seriously we must get to know what size of building we should want in which to house these objects and show them. Hitler has done his best to provide us with sites, but the question is, How big a building is wanted?

Another member of the audience asked what sort of collections were already in existence in London and whether among these collections there was a good deal of overlapping. He gathered that in various London museums there were sections devoted to Asiatic collections, but that they overlapped. Would they together make a very fine nucleus or substantial body of material?

MR. BASIL GRAY: I must preface any remarks I make with this explanation, that, though I am an employee of the Trustees of the British Museum, my opinion must not be taken to represent their views, so that anything I may say expresses my own personal opinion only. Secondly, I should like to say that I did not expect to be called on today at all, owing to this reservation I have had to make, and therefore I was not prepared to make any remarks on this subject, although it is one, naturally, to which I have given a great deal of thought in the past, and is still at present one of my major preoccupations.

Following on the Committees about which Sir Neill has spoken, the Trustees of the British Museum created a Department of Oriental Antiquities. They united in that department the ceramics, the bronzes, and other antiquities, and the paintings, drawings, and prints which had previously been scattered amongst three different departments. That step was taken in 1933, and since Mr Hobson's retirement in 1938 I have been in charge of those collections in this reorganized department.

With regard to the question just asked about overlapping, I may say that this is one which is always coming up. It was fully gone into in the evidence and Report of Lord D'Abernon's Committee. It is undoubtedly the case that there has been overlapping in the past, and there is still overlapping of collections, though not competition in the market or direct competition in acquisition. That has come about owing to the historical growth of the two national museums in London, which have approached the subject of Oriental antiquities from different directions. So far as the British Museum is concerned, it has from its foundation included objects from the East, and anything which contributed to the historical study of the Oriental, like the other great civilizations of the world, has been sought for by the Museum.

With regard to the future, which is what we are here to consider today, I should like to suggest that the war has possibly brought opportunities in fresh contacts, such as will have been made by a great many young men from this country—contacts, I

mean, with the civilizations of the East. For instance, there has been a great increase in students of the Chinese language, and this may well bring some advantage to the study in this country of Chinese archaeology, art, history, linguistics, in the future.

On the general question of the decline of orientalism in this country, I think that is a phenomenon unfortunately not unique. There has been a general decline in the level of all academic studies, of the numbers of people who are prepared to devote themselves to the disinterested pursuit of truth, and that is reflected in such phenomena as lack of support for such an institution as the Royal Asiatic Society. It is not confined to this country. It extends very widely and goes deep, but we in this Institute and in the Museums can certainly do something to fight against it.

Secondly, there is this consideration, which should be in front of those discussing this problem, that space in a Museum is to be regarded not purely from the point of view of gallery space, but from that of office space, library space, storage space, space for students, and so on.

I cannot go into the question of policy, but I can say this, that the opportunity which the present occasion presents is one that obviously is not lost on the authorities of the Museums. How much can be done depends very largely on the measure of enlightened public opinion being brought to bear on the question.

I think, in view of the building situation which is likely to arise after the war, that the question of a new building is not one which should be raised too soon, but that the provision and training of staff might well take precedence. That raises another question. It has been suggested that the collections at present in the National Museums, possibly with the support of those now in the great private collections in this country, would be sufficient to illustrate fully the civilizations of the East. I am bound to say that that is not so. The systematic study of Chinese archaeology is a comparatively recent one. In spite of the very great collectors we have had in this country, it cannot be said that the ground is fully covered, even in respect of China alone, and in respect of the other civilizations of the East the position is certainly worse, because these have not attracted the same attention from collectors. Now that all the Governments of the world are fully alive to the importance of the preservation of their national antiquities, the problem of building up the collections in the Museum in the future takes on a rather different aspect.

Such an institution as a museum, it seems to me, should be organized in the expectation, not merely for the purpose of reaping the advantages of private collections, but of going out into the field and engaging in the work of excavation and archaeology on terms on which other Governments have been, and will probably be, ready to make allowance for the receipt by it of some part of the collections recovered. It is on those lines that I look mainly in the future to the building up of the national collections of Oriental art and archaeology.

I am not, of course, forgetting the very great advantage we have in this country from our great collectors. One could not but feel, when hearing Sir Neill read the list of names of the members of the Committee of 1931, how great has been our loss in the last few years of orientalists in this country. It is tragic to feel that so many have gone without seeing the fulfilment of the ideal which they have had at heart. But it does leave upon us who remain the greater responsibility of implementing what they had in view—this ideal of more adequate space to show the Oriental collections in London, and a larger staff to organize and to make them as complete as possible.

The CHAIRMAN: We are greatly indebted to Mr. Basil Gray for his very suggestive remarks. If no one else wishes to take part in the discussion, perhaps I might make a few observations by way of winding up the meeting.

Great Britain has had, I suppose, a longer and more intimate contact with the peoples of Asia than any other Western country. Those contacts have been largely political, diplomatic, and commercial, and we look forward in the future to adding to those categories the cultural contact. We look forward to a much more intimate contact, for example, with our present-day ally in Asia, the Chinese people. We are standing side by side with them in the most dreadful and destructive war of aggression with which humanity has ever been cursed, and we must remember that our

ally China has been suffering under this infliction for a longer time than we, for it was some years before the outbreak of war in Europe that Japan descended upon Chinese soil. That forges a new bond between the people of Britain and the people of China.

That, then, being the position, it is very surprising that the Government at the heart of the British Empire has hitherto done so little to foster cultural contacts between the British people and the peoples of Asia. Can we look forward to greater support from our Government in the future? I hope profoundly that we can, for I agree with our lecturer that this is a propitious time to put forward a scheme for a great centre of Oriental culture in this country.

There is going to be a vast work of reconstruction undertaken in this country at the end of the war, and it would be a crying shame if this aspect of our contact with the peoples of Asia were not given a prominent place in the scheme of reconstruction. There is some indication that the Government are more alive to that today than they have been in the past, for there is in existence at the present moment a small committee, of which I myself happen to be chairman, which has been appointed by the Secretary of State for India to investigate the whole question of the possibility of establishing a centre of Oriental culture in London after the war. May I say that I regard that as an even wider proposal than the proposal merely to centralize the Oriental exhibits which we at present possess and which are scattered in different institutions. I want to see something more than a mere Museum; I want to see a great focus of interest.

What has been lacking in the past, in order to bring pressure to bear upon the Government, has been public opinion, and public opinion has been lacking because so little has been done to arouse it. What we want to see, therefore, is some Oriental Centre which will provide a meeting-place for all those, whether Eastern or Western, who are interested in the question of Eastern civilization and culture—a great meeting-place where people can come together on a common ground which is non-political. What you will want, therefore, is something still larger than a museum building. You want a fine building, if possible designed by an architect with a knowledge of Eastern architecture, with reception hall, lecture theatre, reading- and writing-rooms, and so on—all the facilities necessary to enable not only students to come and pursue their studies there, but all persons of goodwill who are interested in these things, to come together for the purpose of meeting one another and exchanging views and opinions.

The difficulty there, of course, is the difficulty mentioned by the lady who raised the question about the site. Where in the heart of London are you going to find a site adequate for a building of that character? The Committee of which I am Chairman is at the present time going into the question of the floor space and wall space which will be required adequately to exhibit the examples of Oriental art, antiquities, archaeological specimens, and so on, and it is becoming daily clearer to us that the space required will be very great indeed, and that is undoubtedly a practical difficulty which we shall have to endeavour to overcome.

I agree with what the lecturer said that the art of Asia is one and indivisible. But it is also true that the art of Asia has overflowed into Europe. Persian art in particular has had great influence on the Mediterranean seaboard, and the influence of the art of Islam is to be found as far west as Spain. Therefore it is not easy to know where to draw the line. That is one of the problems with which this Committee has to wrestle.

Then there is the question of the inadequacy of staff available for the proper care of a great Oriental centre of this kind. Well, of course, the staff is not available because the demand for it has not existed. I feel quite sure that if our young men who take an interest in the East generally were aware that there were careers open to them if they undertook seriously a course of study to qualify themselves, it would be found that the staff would be forthcoming. There again we come back to one of the roots of this problem—namely, the lack of public interest, and consequently of interest by the Government and by the universities and so on. I think that that is a problem which will solve itself. I think that I have now covered all the points which came into my mind while the lecturer was addressing us, and I feel sure that anything which organizations such as the Universities' China Committee in London can do to

stimulate interest, and so to bring an informed public opinion to bear upon those who will be responsible after the war for the great plans of reconstruction in this country, will be exceedingly helpful, and destined in due course to bear most valuable fruit.

May I express in your name to Sir Neill Malcolm the gratitude of all of us for bringing this question, not only before this meeting, but before the instructed public, and for the admirable manner in which he has set the project before us, advocating but without disguising its difficulties the scheme which he has at heart.

SIR WILLIAM HORNELL: I want to ask all present to join with me in thanking Lord Zetland for coming here this afternoon and presiding over this meeting. It is not the first time that Lord Zetland and I have met. For five of the best years of my life I had the honour of working with him in Bengal. Those who have worked with him there will never forget what a splendid Governor he was.

With reference to this afternoon's discussion, I should like, as one connected with students, to make one remark. It is as to the absolute necessity for some such developments as have been sketched by our lecturer and endorsed by our Chairman. I was once sent by the University of Hong-Kong to discover a Professor of Chinese for that University. The people out there were under the delusion that such a man should be an Englishman. I went everywhere and found no one who was willing to come and who filled the bill in any way. We have Chairs for Chinese in our universities, but to find a Professor for Hong-Kong was singularly difficult. On the other hand, in France, in the *École Française d'Extrême Orient*, they have turned out famous Oriental students. If I wanted any advice about Chinese, I found that I had to go to Paris. Then, again, the China Institute here is an encouragement of Chinese cultural relations, and that is all to the good, and we can have lectures and discussions, but how much more effective it would be in a lecture on Chinese art if the people who attended were able to go to a centre and see these same objects.

It was very pleasing to hear the advocacy of the idea that what we want is not merely a museum or exhibition, but a place where young men can learn the Chinese language and make progress along those lines. I hold that such a centre should be in London. I do not believe in scattering Chairs in Manchester and other provincial universities. We must have a centre of Chinese culture and all that it stands for in London, otherwise all this talk about cultural relations will turn out to be meaningless. The real difficulty hitherto has been that the British public has taken no real interest in the matter. If the British public did take such an interest and an agitation were aroused, the Treasury would find the money. But there must be a real drive behind it, and if the China Institute and those who come to these talks will help in that drive a very great service will be done both to Great Britain and to China.

ASIA ON THE AIR: A RADIO REVIEW

BY WINIFRED HOLMES

"We're superhuman!" assert the Germans. "Pah!" retort their competitors in crime, the Japanese. "We're gods!"

This quotation from Thomas Lyall's brilliant rhetorical talk after the 9 p.m. news some weeks ago was the crux of his argument. The Germans are dangerous; their Fascism is dangerous; it menaces the free world; but their "heresy of the Herren-volk," child of nineteenth-century Nietzsche, is a puling babe in the world's history compared with the seasoned veteran, two thousand five hundred years old, of the Japanese variety.

The parrot-cry of "Lebensraum," the mania for aggression and world conquest, totalitarianism, are comparative newcomers to Europe, but they were part of the Japanese unity and way of life when our own country was largely bog and forest and the German tribes were notorious among the Romans for their primitive savagery and treachery one against the other. Japan has been a single unified social structure

for centuries, held together by the simple creed that "the gods who created all nations were born in Japan," that the Emperor is himself divine, that each Japanese is only a cell in the body of Japan, and—*tout court*—that "we are the greatest people in the world."

The first Emperor, two thousand five hundred years ago, is reported to have said: "The eight corners of the world are under one roof—Japan." And the Empress Jingo, invading Korea a trifling seventeen hundred years ago, spoke of her aggression as a "holy war."

As the years go by the celestial menace to the rest of the world grows more apparent. In 1933 we find War Minister General Araki saying: "We must fulfil our mission to conquer the world; our imperial morality must spread over the whole world."

Even the German allies are despised. "'Vultures,' they call us," complains a Nazi peevishly; "probably they confuse our European birds, and really mean eagles." And what do the Germans think of the Japanese? Is there honour among confederate thieves? A German document aiming to stir up the Orient against the Japanese, which was smuggled to New Zealand—according to Mr. Lyall—calls them "lacquered semi-apes, crows fit to be flogged." Charming, delicate minds these "competitors in crime" reveal in their unbuttoned moments!

Are there any exceptions to the mass-Fascismo of the Japanese? Mr. Lyall, who has lived in Japan for many years but who has not succumbed as so many Europeans do to her surface beauty and charm, answers that there have been, and presumably are still, some defiant and independent spirits who think and even try to act upon "dangerous thoughts." But the close mesh of the spy and secret police systems instituted in the thirteenth century and elaborated since, with modern weapons of torture and enforcement, makes the Gestapo look in comparison like the wide mesh of a deep-sea fisherman's net. In fact, when the Gestapo went to Japan in 1939 to "teach" their methods, they admitted that they had really "come to learn."

Mr. Lyall's talk succeeded in conveying to listeners that the menace and horror of German domination are far less than those of a Japanese one, and that nothing can wean the Japanese from their dream of world conquest but total and utter defeat. His talk was a *tour de force* beside which most radio programmes pale into insignificance.

Many people here find it hard to believe the reports of Japanese brutalities and flouting of the decencies and humanities we have learnt to take for granted in the civilized world. Either they are sceptical of "propaganda"—by which they mean false witnessing for an ulterior motive—or are too humane and civilized themselves to believe such cold-blooded devilry possible. But as independent evidence pours in even the most sceptical and humane must finally be convinced of their truth. Soon after Mr. Lyall's talk home listeners heard of the experiences of the first woman to escape from a Japanese concentration camp in China—Gwen Priestwood.

Simply and without undue bitterness she spoke of the prison camp on the Stanley Peninsula, where she was taken with 2,500 British, 300 Americans, and about 80 Dutch after the fall of Hong-Kong. "We were put into a four-roomed bungalow," she said. "I was in a room under 14 feet square with seven other women, one just about to have a baby. . . . No furniture, the walls very blood-stained; we slept on the floor. We had 8 ounces of rice per day per person and a couple of pieces of fish the size of your finger-tip, and a few lettuce leaves. On these low rations your strength dwindled rapidly. . . . I left on the fifty-fourth day, and if I hadn't gone then I shouldn't have been able to make the effort."

Mrs. Priestwood escaped with a British official. They planned their escape for weeks, and one dark night crawled under the barbed wire on the chance of picking up a boat to take them to the mainland. Then they'd trek till they got through the Japanese lines to Free China. They did receive help, and after the British official had joined the Chinese guerrillas Mrs. Priestwood, disguised as a Chinese girl, ran the blockade in a junk. She ended by saying: "I can't speak too highly of the kindness of the Chinese people; they would share their bowl of rice with you if it was all they had. However poor, they always offer you something, even if it's only a bowl of hot water."

It was largely due to Mrs. Priestwood's information about the starving condition of these prisoners that the Americans in the Stanley Peninsula camp were repatriated recently in the *Gripsholm*.

The war against this merciless and implacable enemy goes on and increases in intensity as American and British strength in the Far East grows. Air Chief Marshal Sir Philip Joubert, now on Admiral Mountbatten's staff, talked recently about the Burma battlefield, likening Burma to a three-sided lidless box open to the south, the sides of the box being three densely wooded mountain ranges varying from 9,000 to 20,000 feet high, up which "our gear has to be hauled and balanced precariously on the edges, while the Japanese are based on the flat bottom of the box."

This simple description of a confused battle area made the news of painful advance and retreat clearer to listeners bogged in unfamiliar names and wondering anxiously why the campaign is "so slow."

"The Burma front is nearly as long as the Russian front," went on Joubert, "but is far worse served with communications. The tangled battles of Arakan and the Chin Hills, where British and Indian forces have engaged three-quarters of the Japanese forces in Burma, have enabled General Stilwell's forces [of American and Chinese] from the north to make real progress towards Myitkyina [now taken] and the old Burma Road. Behind his troops the new Ledo road is being pushed forward as fast as American engineers can drive it. . . . We have largely destroyed Japanese air power in the Burma theatre and have forced them to use twice the number of troops they used last autumn, with correspondingly heavy casualties, all in the process of softening up the Japanese positions in anticipation of the great assault that is being prepared for the future."

As a postscript to this survey a paragraph from a short talk by Captain J. B. Barnes, who has spent the last eighteen months working on the Manipur Road, is interesting. "Malaria was a greater menace than the Jap, but hard work by the medical units and all sorts of preventive measures—nets, anti-mosquito cream—have changed all that. We only get a fraction of the heavy casualties we used to get two years ago."

A. P. Ryan, whose despatch on the training our men get in jungle warfare was one of the most interesting eyewitness talks of the quarter, reported that one of our most senior officers in India has said: "The Jap is enemy No. 1 and the mosquito enemy No. 2." Among the precautions mentioned as having been so effective are, according to Mr. Ryan, these:

"Half an hour before dark the men have to get their legs into slacks and have their shirt-sleeves pulled down. Anti-mosquito cream is rubbed then on every part not protected by clothes—face, hands, etc.—and every hour through the night a gong rings and every man who is not under his mosquito net (as he ought to be if he's asleep) has to rub on a fresh lot of cream. It smells like sour lemons, but you get used to it. It's now like vanishing cream, and you don't have the bother of rubbing it off in the morning."

So to science we owe the lives and health of thousands of our men in the jungles of India and Burma. India needs scientists—far more than politicians, as Professor A. V. Hill, M.P., said in his recent talk, "Science and Indian Progress." "Her problems are mainly biological—problems of population, health, agriculture, and food."

During his recent tour Professor Hill travelled some 10,000 miles, largely by air, finding no hint of isolationism among Indian scientists, but "a frank desire to get together with the rest of us in the friendliest possible way." He found, too, a "tremendous keenness on science," and stated that about 3,000 students get degrees each year, many with honours, and that there are many absolutely first-rate Indian scientists, seven of whom are members of the Royal Society, with young ones coming along in greater numbers, equally as good.

But he was justly critical of existing facilities for learning and research in India. "Although there are a great many excellent and well-staffed institutions, on the whole the standard is low; laboratories are poor, ill-equipped and under-staffed and the staffs underpaid. The biological sciences are usually the worst provided for, while medicine is one of the crying needs of India." One of Professor Hill's concrete

suggestions for reform after the war is for the foundation of an all-India medical centre as a memorial to the thousands of Indians who have fought and suffered in the common cause. Another is for colleges of technology of a very high standard to be set up in various parts of the sub-continent. These plans, he found, appealed strongly to thoughtful Indians.

After the jungles of the political scene this talk by a distinguished scientist gave one a lift to the hills of simple non-controversial and stimulating suggestions for India's future welfare and progress.

THE FRENCH COLONIAL EMPIRE

By JOHN COATMAN, C.I.E.

THE French Colonial Conference held at Brazzaville between January 30 and February 6 this year attracted strangely little attention in the British Press. Of course, events of the most momentous importance were happening in the war at the time, but, even so, the intrinsic significance of the Conference called for greater prominence than it received. Indeed, just four years ago, the thoughts of all serious students were fixed with painful intensity on the French Colonial Empire. France herself had fallen, or was falling, but even that stupendous calamity would have been a lesser disaster for us if the French Empire had remained in the fight against the enemy. At first we were inclined to estimate the weight of the disaster in terms of French resources only, but before long we had forced upon our attention the grievous loss we had sustained in the economic and financial resources of the French Empire, no less than in its man-power and strategic bases.

It is worth while recalling that the French Empire, like our own, is a world-wide Empire, in Africa, the Far East, the West Indies, and the Pacific. We British came to appreciate the importance of Bizerta and Tunis in a dire fashion after the muddle of 1940, whilst the treacherous surrender of French Indo-China by the Vichy authorities to the Japanese, to be used as a base of aggression, was one of the severest blows the cause of freedom has sustained in this war. The release of Syria from Vichy domination, which meant, in effect, domination by the Germans and Italians, diverted resources and effort which could be very ill spared at the time. It is the simple truth that the defection of the greater part of the French Empire after the fall of France greatly increased the length of the war and added immeasurably to the burdens and dangers of the British Commonwealth when it stood alone. We say the defection of the *greater* part of the French Empire. There was, however, one noble and outstanding exception, and that was the action of the Governor of Equatorial Africa and Chad, Monsieur Felix Eboué, who boldly withstood the Vichy Government and declared for de Gaulle. This far-sighted action has proved of immeasurable value to the Allies, for it gave us direct access from the Gulf of Guinea to Egypt and the Sudan, an advantage the value of which is literally incalculable. Moreover, M. Eboué threw himself into the fight against the enemy with enthusiasm. He built roads and airfields, raised men and resources, and showed what might have been had other French Governors in North and West Africa been as honourable and as patriotic as himself. Not the least noteworthy feature about this bright redeeming page in the history of France in these dark days is the fact that M. Eboué was a negro. We say "was" because, unhappily, this great man died on May 17 and so will not witness the victory and the regeneration of France to which he himself made such a notable contribution. But nothing can show the vital importance of the French Empire in world relations more clearly than the fact that the landing of the Allies in French North Africa proved the turning point of the whole war.

At any rate, there is no excuse now for ignorance in any quarter as to the crucial importance of the French Empire to us and to the world. Everywhere French and British interests are in close touch with each other, and it is clear, for example, that

in the immensely delicate and complicated problems that will arise in respect of Indo-China after the war, Great Britain and France will have to keep in close touch and accord with each other. Syria, also, will be another testing point. In spite of the existence of certain racial minorities in Syria, this country is a compact Muslim country, and its peoples have formed the ideal of a "Greater Syria," including Syria, Lebanon and Palestine (including Trans-Jordan). Here, again, is a situation which calls for the greatest possible measure of common understanding and sympathy between ourselves and the French.

A very striking and encouraging fact in connection with the French Empire is that, in spite of the crushing disaster to the metropolitan country, there has been little open trouble in her overseas possessions. The old difficulties with the Muslims of Northern Africa, which might have been expected to show themselves in an active form, did not, in fact, do so. It is true that with the expulsion of Vichy influence from North Africa, and the discussion of the future of French policy, including colonial policy, by the Consultative Assembly, the Arabs of North Africa have begun to state their claims again with some force. But General de Gaulle has already promised them a number of reforms, including equal citizenship, and it remains to be seen how these promises will be implemented in detail and what result they will have on Arab opinion in North Africa.

But, of course, it is absolutely certain that after the war, when a restored France sets her house in order, her colonial policy will have to be overhauled from top to bottom. When this happens it seems very likely that French colonial policy will be inspired by some of the more organic principles of British colonial policy. Broadly speaking, French opinion on colonial policy has wavered between the two poles of "assimilation" and "indirect government." It is doubtful if either of these can now be regarded as permanent policies for colonial peoples. Whatever system of international relations may be worked out, and however strong and widely accepted the principles may be on which it is based, there is very little doubt that colonial peoples, as they grow to political maturity, will want some form of autonomous government. The Muslim and Arab problems in North Africa in particular, with the ideas of "Greater Syria," "Greater Arabia" and so on, are bound to cut across the policy of assimilation. Similarly, whilst indirect government is no doubt an excellent training school for native peoples in a state of political immaturity, it is only a state of tutelage. Sooner or later control, as well as administration, will be claimed by the peoples concerned. It is, indeed, difficult to see any other future for colonial peoples than a slow, steady progress towards control of their own affairs. The ties which unite them with each other and to their particular metropolitan countries will be shaped according to the conditions and ideas of the empire concerned. So it will be with the French Empire.

It is unlikely that any large number, if indeed any Frenchmen at present, think of their future colonial policy in such terms as this, but the important conference at Brazzaville certainly looked forward beyond the amelioration of merely economic, medical, and educational conditions to more fundamental developments. Those who have read accounts of the Conference in the columns of *France* can hardly fail to have been struck by phrases which recall our own parliamentary White Papers on trusteeship in our colonial empire. Thus, in his inaugural address to the Conference on January 21, General de Gaulle said:

"Mais nous sommes sûrs qu'aucun progrès n'est ni ne sera un progrès, si les hommes qui vivent dans leur terre natale à l'ombre de notre drapeau, ne devaient pas en profiter moralement et matériellement si ce développement ne devait pas les conduire à un niveau tel qu'ils puissent un jour être associés chez eux à la gestion de leurs propres affaires. Voilà ce qui est le devoir de la France." Following him, Monsieur Plevin, Commissioner for Colonies, who presided over the remainder of the Brazzaville Conference, put it even more clearly when he said: "C'est l'homme, c'est l'Africain, ce sont ses aspirations, ses besoins et, n'hésitons pas à le reconnaître, ses faiblesses, c'est l'Africain pris comme individu aussi bien comme membre d'une cellule familiale, que comme élément d'une société appelée à évoluer profondément, sous l'effort de la technique et des idéologies contemporaines, qui seront la préoccupation constante de cette conférence."

For the rest, the agenda of the Conference was a wide one, including political and economic problems, a review of the system of administration in colonies, and the grand problem of the representation of the French colonies in the French Constitution of the future. Of course, at the Brazzaville Conference only the African colonies were directly represented. For obvious reasons Indo-China could not be represented, nor could the West Indies and the Pacific possessions. But it is only reasonable to assume that the important problems and principles discussed at Brazzaville were being discussed for the whole French colonial empire. A glance at the list of the special sections into which the Conference divided—education, public health and social welfare, family life and conditions and labour, administrative reform, and so on—show how wide was the scope of the deliberations. In fact, as an official statement issued prior to the opening of the Conference said, the real goal of the Conference is to clarify and unify French colonial policy in Africa, and to work out practical rules by which these principles can be translated into action.

One of the most detailed discussions at the Conference, and also one which resulted in perhaps the clearest declaration of future policy to be enunciated, was that on economic policy. It was unanimously agreed that the French Empire should go over to a planned economy, and the Conference stated that the principle of planning had been adopted with all its consequences. France, of course, would have a central part in the complete plan which, through her, would be shaped in harmony with the economic relations adopted by the great nations among themselves after the war. The members of the Brazzaville Conference all agreed that whatever public works might be undertaken, and whatever other businesses might be created, all should have as their chief aim the raising of the purchasing power of the African peoples. It is quite clear that the Conference did visualize a centralization of economic policy and technical development in the French Empire, a process not, of course, without its dangers to the native peoples. Still, in view of the general principles stated above, which will inform French colonial policy in the future, it is to be hoped that this planned economic policy will, in fact, produce the effects desired by the Conference. Another very interesting economic proposal was for the establishment of a French Institute for Agricultural Research in Africa.

A most important and difficult part of the Conference's deliberations, on which, unfortunately, the reports available throw very little light, was devoted to recruitment for the colonial services. In the past this has not been too successful a part of French colonial administration. Of course, there have been notable exceptions, but those who had had an opportunity of comparing French colonial personnel with those of British colonies, have not failed to notice how much more successful the British system has been in getting the right sort of colonial administrator. It is very greatly to be hoped that French colonial policy after the war will take some account of British experience, particularly in its development over the past twenty years.

At the close of the Conference, Monsieur Pleben announced that there would shortly be set up a special section of the colonial commission to examine the recommendations made by the Conference and make such proposals for early action to the Comité Français as were practicable, and to work out further proposals to be submitted in France to the Constituent Assembly after the day of deliverance. It must be admitted, however, that the general constitutional scheme, as outlined by M. Pleben, is difficult to understand. Side by side with the French Chamber of Deputies, he wants a Federal Assembly in which all the dependencies will be represented. Nothing is said of any legislative bodies to be set up in the dependencies themselves, nor, according to M. Pleben, should representatives of the dependencies be found in future in the Chamber of Deputies. The powers and functions of the proposed Federal Assembly were left vague, and so at present it is impossible to express any opinion about it, but, taking M. Pleben's own words at their face value, it does not appear likely that the proposed Federal Assembly will satisfy, at any rate, the more advanced peoples of the French Empire, and already opposition to it has been voiced in certain quarters of the Empire. But, of course, the Brazzaville Conference, as we have seen, did not represent the whole French Empire. It met at a critical stage of the war and at a time when the whole of French opinion could not possibly voice itself. There will be future conferences, when the problems tackled by the Brazza-

ville Conference will be further examined. It would be unreasonable to expect complete clarity of definition of policy at this stage. The fact remains that the Brazza-ville Conference has made a start with the problem of French colonial policy after the war, that there is much in its work that is hopeful, and in any case it is a sign that the French Empire is alive and is looking to the future.

THE HISTORY OF MEDICINE IN TURKEY*

DR. H. AVNI AKSEL

Dr. Aksel graduated at Istanbul in 1918 and is at present Chief Surgeon at the Haseki Hospital, Istanbul. He is a specialist in chest surgery and has published several papers on that subject. Dr. Aksel was a member of the Turkish Medical Mission which recently visited Great Britain.

BEFORE discussing the history of medicine in Turkey I wish to say a few words about the meaning and importance of the history of medicine in general.

The science of medicine begins contemporaneously with the existence of man. Ever since that time the knowledge of primitive medicine has gradually advanced and has laid the foundations of modern medicine, based upon the principles of medicine laid down by men like Hippocrates and Galen. To study the position through which science has passed in the course of time, and the phases which it has been through, and to form an idea about its future development and to take steps which will help its further development, is to be in possession of useful and valuable knowledge. Thus it is on account of its importance that the history of medicine has for years constituted one of the principal studies of the most modern universities.

After this brief introduction let us now embark upon our subject.

Turkish medicine, which has a six-hundred-year history, is a continuation of the medicine of the Selçuk Turks, who for centuries ruled before us in Anatolia and have left a great many traces of their civilization. According to the stages of progress which our greatly developing medicine displays during this period it is possible to divide our medical science into three phases, of which the first is up to the opening of the Süleymaniye Medical School, the second up to the establishment of the Medical College of Istanbul, and the third is the period in which we ourselves are living. Now let us briefly examine the course of progress of medicine during these stages.

In the middle of the fourteenth century the rapid expansion of the Turkish Empire, its vitality, and its promise of a brilliant future, and particularly the respect paid by the Sultans and their Vezirs to science and scientists, was the cause of the flooding of our country by a great many scientists from Persia, Egypt, Iraq and even India, and by the great masters of medicine of the times. In the time of the Selçuks the hospitals, which had been established and were in operation in the great cities of Anatolia like Sivas, Amasya and Konya, were enlarged; and by means of building new hospitals in certain other places great services were rendered both to the health of the army (which was constantly at war) and to the health of the growing victorious population. From a study of the Imperial Archives we learn that the number of hospitals increased and reached the figure of fifty after the conquest of Istanbul. The conquest of Constantinople caused a great revolution in the world of medicine, as in every other sphere. The opening of the Medrese and the Hospital of Fatih and the appointment to this hospital as Chief Medical Officer of Kütübdin from Persia may, from the point of view of the progress of the country's first age of medicine, be recorded as a stage forward. Evilia Çelebe, who visited this establishment and who had for many years rendered great services to the health of the country, speaks of this hospital in his *Travelogue*, and records that there were innumerable doctors, surgeons

* Translation of a lecture given at the Londra Türk Halkevi on March 21, 1944.

and oculists, up to two hundred men and women domestics, and even that a band was charged with the duty of entertaining the sick and curing certain diseases. With the help of the documents which enrich our libraries it can be shown that the great doctors of this age recorded their knowledge in book form and thus handed it on as a gift to their successors. In the fifteenth century particularly there were innumerable works written on the subject of medicine and chemistry by the specialists of that time like Geredeli Ishak, Şervanlı Mahmud and particularly Âltunizade, who was, at the same time, an inventor. He conceived the idea of a surgical "probe," and used one which he made from silver for his operations. Again, amongst the famous chemists whom this age produced the name of Şerafüddin Ali of Amasya, known as Sabuncuoglu, is worthy of mention. This individual practised surgery for fourteen years in the hospital in Amasya which had been founded by the Ilhani Turks, and achieved brilliant successes. In 1471 he translated from Arabic into Turkish the book by Ebukasim Zehravi, one of the Arab doctors, and presented it to the Conqueror Sultan Mehmed. There are two copies of this book, of which one is in Paris and the other in Istanbul. This work does not consist of a simple translation of the work of Ebukasim. Sabuncuoglu added a number of drawings which showed his own operating methods, together with drawings of the instruments he used and a few additional studies. Again, Ali Ahmet Çelebe, a product of this age and one of the great surgeons, established the practice of taking a stone out of the bladder and wrote a book of ten chapters on this subject.

The medicine of this our first age was, without doubt, very elementary. Rather than being a science taught in the schools, it was a system of master and apprentice, and knowledge was gained by practical experience. Liquids and ointments which were produced by experimentally boiling hops and roots were used as remedies. The operating instruments were very restricted and elementary in form. Cauterization was generally used to cure sickness. Nothing was known about anæsthetics; in major operations like the amputation of arms and legs the limb to be amputated was frozen with ice or snow.

The sixteenth century was the most brilliant age of our century. Our frontiers extended from Baghdad to Vienna. Science and art reached great heights, soldiering and seamanship made extraordinary strides. We see great men in every sphere of life. In the age in which lived poets like Fuzuli, Baki and Nedim, scientists like Ebussuud Efendi, and art geniuses like the architect Sinan, it is very natural that doctors of equal standard were produced. And at this time there was a very great need for a sufficient number of doctors for the growing country, for the powerful army which was for ever at war, and for the growing population. It was this urgent need which brought about the opening of the Süleymaniye School of Medicine.

In 1555 a big hospital was founded around the Mosque of Süleymaniye in Istanbul, and beside it a big school. This school was, for those times, a university. It had innumerable teachers and a great many students. Medicine was taught to students here in well-organized courses, and practical demonstrations of diagnosis and healing were given to students in the hospital. For the first time lessons on the theory of anatomy began to be given. Employment in the State hospitals and in the army of surgeons who had read anatomy was preferred, and to have studied anatomy was an advertisement for surgeons. In a word, medicine reached the stage of a science which was taught and learnt in the schools.

At the end of the seventeenth century we see that our medicine gradually moved from the East and turned toward the West. Our doctors who went into Europe with our armies learnt European languages, translated important medical works into Turkish, and brought new methods of healing to our country. We learn that at this time innumerable doctors came from Europe to our country. A great many of these were Jews and Europeans, and it is known that the majority of them had studied in the University of Padua. None the less, they only made money and worked to their own account in Turkey, but did not benefit the medicine of the country in any way. In the eighteenth century Turkish medicine at last completely turned towards the West. The works and prescriptions of a great many big Western medical men were translated into our tongue. Besides this, our own scientists of experience and knowledge were not inactive, but recorded their medical knowledge and observations. At

this time writers like Ali Efendi of Bursa, Ayaşlı Şaban Görelzade Hafız Hasan, one of the teachers of the Süleymaniye School, are particularly worthy of mention; also Subhizade Abdülaziz Efendi comes first amongst the Turkish doctors, the product of this age. He had studied medicine in the Süleymaniye School and went to Vienna, where he stayed many years in order to study Western medicine on the spot.

The eighteenth century is very important from the point of view of the practice of inoculation. According to records in books, the practice of inoculation for smallpox began in Turkey before it did in Europe. The fact which seems to support this claim is that Lady Montagu, the wife of the British Ambassador of that time, in a letter which she wrote to her friends in England in 1717, spoke about inoculation as a practice in Turkey; and the fact that the attention of English doctors was drawn to inoculation, which was combating a disease which had been the cause of so many deaths, provides further support for this claim.

At this time Turkish medicine showed considerably greater progress than in any previous period. There were doctors employed in great fortresses and in the army. Besides this there were doctors and surgeons in private practice in the large towns. The custom of licence was current in private practice. If it had been decided that fifteen doctors and surgeons should work in a town, a sixteenth could not go there. At this time, too, new hospitals were being established in all the big towns. In 1539 the foundations were laid of the Haseki Hospital, of which I have the honour to be an operating surgeon. About 160 yards from where the Haseki Hospital is today there is the original Haseki Hospital, which stands as strong as ever. Certain parts of it were being used as a hospital until very recently. It was built by the great architect Sinan, who also built the Süleymaniye Medical School.

We can also record a big advance in surgery in this period, and medicine, too, made progress. We also learn by studying certain hand-written documents which are preserved in our libraries that some medical preparations used in the West entered the country, and that after experimenting with them publications were issued about their medical value. The works of Paracelsus were translated into Turkish, and Western methods of curing diseases were introduced. We see a great awakening in the field of medicine.

In the nineteenth century Turkish medicine finally turned completely towards the West. Increasing contact with the West facilitated the establishment of European medicine in Turkey in this age. Mahmed II., who introduced great military changes and founded the modern army, believed in the need for fundamental changes in this sphere also and, with the object of providing doctors and surgeons for the new army, founded in 1827 a Medical and Surgical Faculty in İstanbul in the Şehzade Başında Tulumbacıbaşı Palace. While work went on in the Süleymaniye Medrese, medicine and surgery were taught in this establishment in separate departments and under modern conditions. In 1831 the Surgical Faculty was completely separated from the Medical Faculty and transferred to Sarayburnu, and studies were continued under the administration of surgeons like Konstantin Karatodori, who came from France, and Saranti. In 1839 the Medical Faculty was transferred to the private building in Galatasaray and took the name of Tibbiyei Adliyei Sahane, and Dr. Bernard from Vienna was invited to take up the appointment of director of this school. At first the teaching was in French. The object was to ensure that the new doctors should learn French and introduce medical works into the country. All the new practices employed in European medical universities were applied here. For the first time anatomy was taught on the human body. A large library was established, and with the object of teaching students the science of botany, a matter of great importance to medicine, a splendid garden was made. Examinations for doctors were held at the school. Hayrullah Efendi was the first of our doctors to enter the world of medicine with the title of doctor on passing his examination. I believe he was the father of the great poet Abdülhak Hamid. In 1846, again for the first time, four students were sent by the Government to Vienna. After returning to their country they became lecturers in different departments of the school. As lectureship gradually passed into the hands of Turkish doctors, instruction, too, began to be given in Turkish. In 1864 the Civil School of Medicine, which is the origin of our Faculty of Medicine of today, was opened. In 1867 the Medical Society, originally called the Imperial

Medical Society, and which has shown such great scientific activity, was founded, and is today called the Turkish Medical Society. Thanks to the efforts of Dr. Kirimli Aziz Bey, one of the founders of this Society, and with the assistance of his colleagues, the Turkish Medical Dictionary has been published, and by this means a great many medical expressions have been translated into Turkish. New works also are written and translated. Students are regularly sent to Europe, and on returning to their country each becomes head of one of the departments; in this way Turkish medicine is gradually making itself known. The Quarantine Department and the Coastal Medical Organization have been established, and Turkey is a party to the International Quarantine Regulations. In this age, too, there has been great progress in surgery. The Cerranhane (Surgery School) continues to progress. Modern surgery was trying to establish itself in the country, and, while at first it made slow progress, three young doctors who gained prizes in a competitive examination went, one of them to Vienna and two to Paris, in order to study new methods of surgery. When they returned to their own country they began to teach the new methods of surgery in the Medical School and to publish and to make known the antiseptic methods which had just begun to be used in Europe. But the really Turkish representative and exponent of modern surgery is our Professor Cemil Topuzlu, who is still alive. On his return to this country from Paris in 1895 he became an assistant instructor at the Medical College and afterwards became a professor and established the new method of antiseptic surgery, rendering great service to his country by instructing thousands of students. Thanks to the work of the last fifty years, we can say that modern medicine is at last established in Turkey. Our doctors, who are specialists in every branch of medicine, follow its progress in Europe and in America and, by means of regular publications, make known to the whole medical world our own medicine. Thanks to the Government's practice of sending doctors to foreign countries for the purpose of studying, and thanks to the devotion of their profession of a great many of our specialists, and thanks to their constantly bringing to their country at their own expense fresh publications about their profession, you can readily understand that Turkish medicine continues to make great strides. There are now up to two hundred hospitals, including our very modern establishments and model hospitals, innumerable maternity and child welfare centres, and a great many dispensaries and hospitals for infectious diseases and tuberculosis sanatoria. There are organizations for combating tuberculosis, fever and venereal disease. In our school for nurses we train nurses who are really experienced in their work; they join our large medical personnel. There are altogether 4,000 doctors, both in private practice and in the service of the State and other health organizations. Particularly since the establishment of the Republic great progress has been made in health matters, as in every other subject.

Let my last words be to thank the British Council, which has given us the opportunity of seeing at first hand the progress made in our profession in England, and has offered us every help and assistance for doing so, and let me also thank them for this opportunity of speaking before this distinguished audience.

Finally, let me thank the staff of this valued establishment and the audience which I have the honour to address.

THE KINGDOM OF THE NETHERLANDS AND ENEMY AGGRESSION

BY LIEUT.-COMMANDER CHARLES M. MORRELL, R.N.V.R.

Just over four years ago—at 3 a.m. on May 10, 1940—Germany wantonly attacked the Kingdom of the Netherlands without a declaration of war.

Let us, very briefly, examine the international pre-war position of the Kingdom of the Netherlands. In his book, *The Rape of the Netherlands*, the present Nether-

lands Minister, Mr. E. N. van Kleffens, asks what would be his readers' reply to the following question :

"Give me the name of a well-governed European country which is an element of stability; a country of steady progress; where there is an exceptionally large measure of social justice; where wealth is more evenly distributed than in most European countries as there is neither unlimited private wealth nor dire poverty; a country which wisely governs its overseas territories, opening up their resources to all the world, while at the same time taking great care to raise the moral and material well-being of its native subjects; a country with a name in the fields of the arts and sciences, with a proportionately very large number of Nobel prize-winners; where education and knowledge of foreign languages are at a very high level; a democratic country on whose republican past a time-honoured constitutional monarchy has been grafted. A country, finally, which does not covet anything belonging to anyone else; a land of liberty, of tolerance, of patient, unspectacular labour and achievement."

He rightly adds that although, perhaps, replies to this question might contain the names of more than one country, there seems little doubt that Holland would have ranked near the top. Without any intention of making invidious distinctions, the writer ventures to add that, although much the same description could be applied to some other European countries, Holland's brilliant achievements in her Far Eastern territories also places her in the very front ranks of those European Powers whose responsibility it is to co-operate with and further the welfare of non-European peoples.

In the long-distant past the painful process of trial and error undoubtedly brought with it injustices and abuses, but history shows that such things were almost inevitable in those days, and in any case there is not a single country in the world whose overseas subjects have not suffered in the course of colonial "growing pains." Be that as it may, the modern administration by Holland of her overseas possessions was, in every respect, a model of what good colonial government should be.

To return to the Kingdom of the Netherlands in Europe. Ever since Holland and Belgium became separate Kingdoms in 1839, the consistent and unswerving policy of successive Netherlands Governments was one of non-entanglement with other Powers. They knew that this policy was in line with the desires of the Great European Powers that the Kingdom of the Netherlands should remain in the hands of the Dutch people and that Dutch authority in their own territories should not be undermined or otherwise influenced by any single State. It is true that Holland became a member of the League of Nations, but this did not negative her previous policy, as the League was intended to be universal and did not represent one State or group of States.

It is an historical fact that the League was a failure—the United States never joined it and Germany, Italy and Japan finally withdrew from it.

The declaration made individually in 1923 by France, Great Britain, the United States and (be it carefully noted!) Japan—that they undertook to respect the integrity of the Netherlands East Indies—which was accepted by the Kingdom of the Netherlands, did not in any way indicate a departure from their policy. It merely confirmed the desire of the Kingdom of the Netherlands to be left alone—at peace with all men—to manage their own affairs.

But acceptance of Hitler's offer to the Netherlands in 1936 of a non-aggression pact would have constituted a unilateral treaty and was therefore declined. Acceptance would have been contrary to the Netherlands' declared policy, and, moreover, the Briand-Kellogg Treaty, outlawing war, to which Germany was a party, rendered such a pact unnecessary—at least in the eyes of all honest, decent-minded, civilized people, who regarded declarations and treaties as sacrosanct.

Ever since the fall of Napoleon, Holland's one enemy was the sea, against which she waged ceaseless warfare and from which she took any extra territory she might require—witness that stupendous engineering feat, the drainage of the Zuider Zee. She did not covet her neighbours' territory.

The rich products of the Netherlands East Indies were at the disposal of the world, and, under the Netherlands Indies "open door" policy, foreign capitalists could

invest their money in the Netherlands East Indies on the same terms and conditions as Netherlands nationals. For instance, it has been estimated that British investments in the Netherlands East Indies in agricultural, mining and many other undertakings amounted to no less than £100,000,000. Similarly, American, Belgian, French, German and Japanese investments amounted to very considerable sums.

No preferential duties were imposed on imports into the Netherlands and Netherlands East Indies, and, compared with most of the remainder of the pre-war tariff-ridden world, trade with them was virtually free. One result of this was that the value of Netherlands East Indies imports from Japan greatly exceeded that of imports from Holland herself.

To return to Holland: Great Britain was Holland's best customer and bought from her, annually, very much more than she bought from Great Britain. On the other hand, Germany, annually, sold to Holland approximately three times the amount of goods she bought from her.

Such then, briefly, was the pre-war political and economic position of the Kingdom of the Netherlands.

Immediately upon the outbreak of war in 1939, the Netherlands Government issued a Proclamation of Neutrality, which, officially, announced their determination to maintain absolute neutrality. It also set out a detailed definition of this neutrality so as to avoid all chances of misinterpretation, and, incidentally, the Proclamation strictly accorded with international law. Needless to say, neutrality was observed with impeccable exactitude, and all Germany's lies, distortions and cunning sophisms cannot alter this irrefragable fact. Nevertheless, Holland was invaded by Germany, and in accordance with their technique, the Nazis made their usual lying statements, that they possessed "irrefutable evidence" that Holland had behaved in an unneutral manner, that Great Britain and France were about to invade Holland, Belgium and Luxembourg and that this was known to the Netherlands Government. This "irrefutable evidence" was never produced, for the simple reason that it did not exist.

The Netherlands East Indies are an integral part of the Kingdom of the Netherlands, so that immediately Holland was attacked a state of war automatically existed between the Netherlands East Indies and Germany, and, of course, the Kingdom of the Netherlands became allies of Great Britain and France.

- At that time Japan was still neutral. Economic discussions had been, or were, taking place between the Netherlands Indies and Japanese Governments, and although these discussions were abortive, the negotiators parted on the best of terms and there seemed no reason to believe that the Japanese contemplated attacking the Netherlands East Indies.

But on December 7, 1941, the storm burst. Pearl Harbour was attacked by the Japanese without a declaration of war, in accordance with the traditions established by the Germans, and it soon became clear that the Philippines, Malaya and the Netherlands East Indies were the immediate objectives of the Japanese, with Australia and New Zealand as more distant goals. The amazing series of Japanese triumphs at the outset are now items of history. The Allies were hopelessly outnumbered on land and sea, whilst in the air the Japanese quickly attained absolute superiority, partly due to the fact that the Dutch—to their eternal honour—had expended a considerable portion of the strength of their small air force in the defence of Malaya.

But if the Japanese plans were to succeed completely it was essential for them not only to obtain command of the sea but to retain it right to the end.

The Japanese certainly obtained command of the sea, but, mainly thanks to the dogged courage of the Dutch, they suffered such shattering losses in warships and merchant ships in doing so that their ability to maintain their enormously long lines of communications was seriously impaired.

From bases in Ceylon, Australia and elsewhere, the Americans, Australians, British, Dutch and French Forces are ceaselessly hammering away at the Japanese, who are rapidly losing the command of the sea, for which they paid such a terrible price in 1941 and 1942. It is certain that once Germany is defeated and huge additional Allied forces are freed for operations in the Far East, Japan will completely lose her command of the sea and with it the whole campaign.

Let there be no mistake about it; the defeat of Japan is just as necessary to the whole world as the defeat of Germany. Great Britain, the Kingdom of the Netherlands, the United States, China, the Philippines, France, Canada, Australia, New Zealand, India, British Borneo, Malaya, many British islands in the Pacific and Portuguese Timor, are but some of the countries whose security and well-being cannot be assured unless and until Japan is utterly and irrevocably crushed and the territories she has stolen restored to those who administered them so well before the war. No half measures will do. A compromise peace made with Germany or Japan would merely provide them with breathing space in which to make preparations for world domination. We all know that it was Germany's intention to dominate the world. If such a thing is possible, Japan's aggression was even fouler, as her obvious intention was also to humiliate the whole white race in the eyes of the Asiatic peoples.

Great Britain has now been at war for nearly five years, but when Germany is defeated, let us not heave a sigh of relief and relax. We—in company with our Allies—must, and will, complete the job by forcing Japan unconditionally to surrender.

Then, and not until then, will we all be able to build a world in accordance with the Atlantic Charter.

BARODA IN WAR-TIME

BY STANLEY RICE

BARODA under her new ruler continues to maintain the high standard which was set by the late Maharaja Sayaji Rao III. For a long time now she has been considered to be one of the best-governed States in India, and has been the exemplar for others less fortunate. There is, or was, a prevalent idea that the peasantry of British India are much better off than their brethren in an Indian State and that they willingly embraced every opportunity to become British Indian subjects. This is by no means the case. It may indeed be true of certain States whose reputation is none of the best, but it is not true of Baroda. Apart from their loyalty to the Gaekwar House, which is strong, they are very well treated, and by the permanent reduction of the land assessment, which the present Maharaja ordered at his accession, they have obtained a boon which they had no reason to expect.

Under the late Maharaja, towards the close of his life, the executive power in the State was entrusted to one Councillor, who disposed of all internal matters not requiring the collective decision of the Council. This arrangement was intended to set free the other Councillors for the work of inspection and supervision, but it had the effect of *pro tanto* divorcing them from the administration, while the inspection work was no better than before. There seems to have been of late a reversion to the older and more general plan of dividing up departments amongst the Councillors and giving each certain portfolios. The Diwan retains the Political portfolio and supervises all. This internal change is, however, relatively unimportant. Much more weighty is the approach to democracy by the enlargement of the Dhara Sabha, or local Legislative Council, which now consists of sixty members, of whom twenty-seven are elected on a wide franchise. Of the remainder, seventeen are non-officials nominated to represent the interests of minorities and apparently special castes, and ten to represent special interests such as industry, labour, commerce and the co-operative movement. There are only six officials. This body can initiate and pass legislation and move resolutions. The Diwan has controlling power, including the right of "certification," a device obviously borrowed from the Government of India Act, and all legislation requires the assent of His Highness. This arrangement has been working smoothly, and a considerable amount of business was transacted.

Baroda, like most Indian States, has been singularly free from the agitation which

has vexed the life of British India now for so many years. Occasionally a Congress member has come to the State to make speeches and to stir the enthusiasm of the student population, but, as one such orator is said to have remarked, since Congress stands for self-government or Swaraj, it has no business in Baroda, where self-government, in the sense at least of "native government," already exists. In 1942, however, one of these rare incidents occurred. The local Congress Working Committee, called the Baroda Prajamandal or People's Assembly, passed a resolution relating to the war effort identical in terms with that of the All-India Congress Committee. The Baroda Government acted promptly and with decision. The members were interned and the Prajamandal was declared illegal. There were unlawful meetings and processions, leading to arrests; pamphlets were distributed, and leaflets inciting to sabotage; setting fire to buildings and equipment; damage to post and telegraph offices and to telephone lines; attacks on postal runners and destruction of mails; sabotage of railway lines, both the B.B. and C.I., which is British, and the State lines. In fact, the whole Congress programme of terrorism—of non-violent violence—was either put or to be put into operation. On one occasion the soldiers, apparently of the State forces, had to open fire, with the result that two people were killed. This state of unrest lasted till March, 1943, when the interned members were released on their agreeing to convene a meeting of the Prajamandal to cancel the obnoxious resolution, the Government undertaking to restore to the latter body its freedom of action (provided it were lawful action), and to release those who had been sentenced for their part in the proceedings. Exception was made of those guilty of sabotage or of violent crimes. The ebullition gradually died down, except for a few obdurate members who had, in consequence, to be detained for a further period.

All this was due to the influence of Mr. Gandhi, whose peculiar sense of political fitness has induced him to oppose measures taken in the interests of national defence. The fact is that his disciples do not understand his lofty, if somewhat distorted, ideals. The immense power which he undoubtedly has has therefore been turned into channels of violence and terrorism of which he probably disapproves.

The prompt action taken by the Baroda Government prevented any serious harm being done to the war effort of the State. The police behaved well and for the most part were efficient in maintaining law and order. Their attitude was all the more creditable because a great strain was put upon them, and it is not unlikely that some at least sympathized with Congress aims, even if they disapproved of the violence. The war effort was, in fact, only part of the effort which was being made all over India. Baroda has no reason to be dissatisfied with her own record. She has provided an Air Squadron, and the Maharaja has shown in a practical manner that he is proud of it. She has also contributed a vessel to the Indian Navy, H.M.I.S. *Baroda*, and both the airmen and the sailors have acquitted themselves well. Out of her small army, which seems greatly to have improved in quality, the 2nd Infantry Regiment has been sent on war duty outside the State, and the Mechanical Transport Sections are on active service. His Highness has given liberal donations both to the Royal Air Force Welfare Fund and to the corresponding organization for the Indian Air Force. It is, however, less to the Prince that one is inclined to look than to the attitude of the people, and it is satisfactory to learn that "the National War Front organization has received wide support, and the movement is spreading to the remote villages." "In towns and villages people have formed themselves into bands for helping the police"—a new feature, since it has so often been the complaint that the people are inclined to obstruct the police by withholding evidence and in other ways. After all, governments cannot do a great deal by direct action (though they are often accused and abused as if they were all-powerful); without the co-operation of the people they would be fairly helpless, and that is a maxim which would be democrats would do well to follow.

It is hardly to be expected that a small if important State like Baroda should strike out an entirely new line in the matter of the war effort, and therefore there need be no surprise if she has followed the English and doubtless also the Indian model of a "Grow More Food" campaign. Baroda is an agricultural State, but her principal crop is cotton. Everyone who has had to deal with the Indian ryot knows how con-

servative he is; he clings to the habits of his forefathers, even when they have been shown to be inadequate. It is only when a large movement, spontaneously undertaken, has proved to be successful that the ryot can, as a rule, be stirred out of his groove. It is therefore eminently satisfactory that he has been induced to convert 200,000 bighas or, say, 150,000 acres from commercial to food crops, especially as Baroda is "a deficit area in regard to food grains"; that is to say, she is not self-supporting in such important foods as rice and wheat. Attempts to extend irrigation have not been successful, probably because much of the soil is not suited to it, and, though it is not absolutely impossible to grow rice on the supply of rain alone, the crops are poor compared with those grown on irrigated land. The ryot is quick to see where his interest lies, and if irrigation had promised well there is no reason to suppose that the ryot would not have welcomed the water as eagerly as in other parts of India, where water is more valuable than gold. At the same time the change over to food grains had to be delicately adjusted lest the economic position of the ryots should suffer by too violent a change; moreover, it was necessary to keep the textile mills, which form the bulk of the industrial enterprise, sufficiently supplied. That all this was successfully accomplished is creditable to the Baroda Government in general and to the Diwan in particular. It was necessary to hold out inducements by reducing the assessments by 25 per cent.; but, since this is only a small part of the profit to be expected, the ryots must have shown willingness to co-operate, and accordingly deserve praise for their public spirit. Nor can we withhold it because there were further concessions, such as the supply of seed at concession rates and the supply of water from Government wells and a rebate of water tax.

A further war effort is the campaign for stimulating investments in defence bonds and loans and generally in Government of India securities. The need for saving was impressed upon the people by various propagandist methods, and seems to have had more success than such efforts usually achieve.

In addition to these various efforts connected with the war, the industries of the State have also been diverted into the war channel. Industries are working to full capacity, first for the defence services and secondly to supply the civilian population, for, with the cessation or at least the reduction of imports, a gap has been created which it is necessary to fill. The principal industry is, of course, textile. The capital employed in this enterprise has risen since 1927-28 from 123 lakhs to 504 lakhs in 1942-43. All cotton mills have benefited from high prices, even though the prices of accessories has also risen, including fuel and wages. There is one woollen factory in the State which is working exclusively for the Government. There is also a well-established firm in Baroda City which manufactures drugs and medicines for the Government of India as well as for the local Government. The Tata organization have also started a concern for the manufacture of bleaching powder, potassium bromide, caustic soda and other chemicals. In all there were eighteen cotton mills working, besides the one woollen mill, where, however, there was a marked decrease in output. Mention should also be made of the institution of cheap grain shops. This was intended partly as a precaution against profiteering, and was particularly useful to the lower-paid Government servants, who, having fixed incomes, were hard hit by the rising prices of food grains. It is estimated that some 50,000 persons have been benefited by the scheme. By this and other similar means it is hoped to counter the activities of the black market, which is a menace to the community here as everywhere else.

Baroda is not, and probably never will be, an industrial State. The late Maharaja did his best to foster industries, but without any outstanding success. The people are wedded to the cultivation of cotton, particularly in the Baroda and Mehsana divisions. In Navasari some stimulation has been given to the growth of sugar-cane, for which irrigation facilities are provided in that part of the Raj, by the installation of sugar works at Gandevi, in the extreme south. It is, however, reported that the villagers showed some reluctance to sell to the factory, preferring to crush their own canes in order to realize the high prices obtainable for the product.

The war has thus impinged on Baroda State in a variety of directions, but we should always bear in mind that this war has touched India more nearly than did the last one. Then the greatest menace to India was the depredations of the cruiser

Emden; the Japanese were then our allies. Except for the losses in men, which mainly concerned the Punjab, and the general dislocation of the world's economic position, that war hardly touched India at all. This war has brought India more directly within its orbit, and there is no part of the country which has not felt its presence indirectly, if not directly.

Turning now to what we may call the day-to-day administration of the State, we may note that, if there is no great general advance anywhere, there is at least no setback. There was considerable activity in social legislation towards the close of the late Maharaja's reign, the notable exception being the Child Marriage Prevention Act, which dates from 1904. Since that time marriageable age for boys has been fixed at the minimum of eighteen, for girls of fourteen. It is, however, doubtful whether the raising of the age from sixteen and twelve respectively has had any real influence on the numbers still involved, having regard to the causes to which these marriages are mainly attributable. The figure has remained fairly constant during the last ten years; the highest figure was 4,637 in 1936-37, and the lowest 2,054 in 1938-39. In this particular year (1942-43) with which we are now concerned the number is, no doubt, the lowest but for 1938-39 during the last ten years, but it remains to be seen whether next year will show still further improvement. But the marriage of quite young children (under eight) does show a hopeful public opinion, and the percentage, which dropped in 1936-37 from 0.12 to 0.02, has been maintained more or less at the latter figure till now. It is satisfactory to read that the average marriage age for both sexes has risen by about five years since 1904.

Little resort has been had to the Caste Tyranny Removal Act of 1933. The highest number of cases filed under its provisions was only twelve. This was in 1936-37, and it is only the first three years of its life that show even double figures. The truth is that the subject is hardly suitable for legislation. Everyone knows that the evil exists, in the shape of restrictions on foreign travel or a marriage which in certain castes is rigidly confined within small circles, in the extravagant outlay on weddings and funerals. But no one cares to incur the displeasure of the caste leaders, who are in a position to make life intolerable. There are various ways of doing this, and the "offenders" therefore prefer to risk the penalties of a court rather than this kind of tyranny, which takes from them all that makes life worth living. At the same time it is true, as the Report says, that the very existence of the Act does tend to check the arbitrary use of the power of excommunication.

There was some progress in agriculture; the cultivators have been induced to use high-class seed, more modern implements, and manures scientifically prepared on a larger scale than hitherto. This is satisfactory, because it takes much patience and perseverance to pierce through the hard crust of conservatism and prejudice. Results on a large scale are hardly to be expected in a single year.

For a long time past the question of soil erosion has been engaging the attention of the Government. The chief enemy is the formation and extension of gullies by the side of streams and along the banks of large rivers. These are, of course, due to the heavy tropical rain, which washes away much valuable soil, which is therefore lost to cultivation. To try and check this, various measures have been devised, and Baroda is never too proud to learn from her neighbours. Selected officers were therefore sent to the Punjab to study the means and the methods adopted there.

It is somewhat strange that the Veterinary Department does not make more headway. The beneficial results of humane methods of castration are plain for any intelligent eye to see; yet only 4,000 animals were so treated out of many thousands. The number of cases treated in veterinary hospitals continues to rise, but one would like to see more prevention rather than cure. However, the really dangerous cattle diseases were kept under control. One would think that more use might be made of the Dwarka division in Kathiawar, where the conditions are said to be ideal for the improvement of livestock. Many who are still living can remember the excellent breed of horses known as Kathiawar, which seems to have been allowed to die out.

There is no department, unless it be Education, nearer to the Diwan's heart than Co-operation. The policy is still, as it must and ought to be, directed to quality rather than quantity. Consequently the total number of societies was increased only by a trifle. There is a large number of different societies and even two land mortgage

banks and ten central banks. Yet in spite of all the stimulation which the movement receives from Government, it is said that the agricultural societies affect no more than 8 per cent. of the village population. It might be worth while to see how this compares with the results in British India, especially the Punjab. It does not appear that this has been done. Those causes which have always militated against the quick development of the movement, such as the more rigid collection of dues, continue to operate and seem still to outweigh the benefit of more favourable rates of interest.

The field drainage system has long been neglected, with the result that much of it had ceased to function properly. This resulted in much of the land becoming flooded in the rains, the crops being entirely ruined and replanting necessitated. This question is now being taken up in earnest by the Government. Ten miles of new channels were cut, twenty-one miles of drains were overhauled, and fifteen miles of drains thoroughly repaired. The need for these drains is apparent to anyone acquainted with the conditions of Indian agriculture. They are second only, if second, to the need for irrigation. The building programme of the State shows nothing out of the ordinary.

Certainly if the quantity of the various institutions provided can be regarded as a criterion, Baroda is well off in the sphere of education. There are three colleges—for arts and sciences, for the training of teachers, and for the study of commerce and economics respectively. The last, which is named after his present Highness, is obviously only in its early stage. There are 38 high schools and 118 Anglo-vernacular schools, besides 2,384 primary schools for elementary education in the villages; there are schools for the backward classes, including Aentyaj (so-called outcastes), Raniparaj (the jungle folk of Navasari), and Mushims, schools for the deaf, dumb and blind, and an orphanage. There are technical schools at the Kalabhavan in Baroda, a handsome building near the Palace gates, at Amreli in Kathiawar, at Patan in Mehsana, and at Navasari. But for all this wealth of instruction there is still a great lapse into illiteracy. It is claimed that the various methods devised for overcoming this are showing "slow but satisfactory" results. The proportion of pupils in class v. to those in class i. is gradually improving, but the figures hardly bear out this contention, for the percentage has remained practically stationary for the last three years, and have only improved by 4 per cent. during the last five years. Unless the people themselves show a desire to read, Government can do very little, and in this respect the library movement, which provides reading matter for 85 per cent. of the population, has probably as much influence in reducing illiteracy as all the other Government efforts put together. At least we can say that there has been a great improvement since 1930, when the percentage of illiteracy was as high as 75 to 80. But the criteria by which the problem is being judged may not be the same, so that we cannot say dogmatically what the improvement actually is.

Lastly, the Department of Medicine and Sanitation is, on the whole, satisfactory. Anti-malarial measures were still undertaken, but it is to be noted that the cases of malaria reported to the authorities numbered 262,500, or 7,000 more than in the previous year. Health is the most precious thing any man can possess, and malaria, though not perhaps killing, is the most debilitating disease in India. It is thus an obstacle not only to health, but to economic development. The generous funds now provided by his present Highness as well as by the late Maharaja might well devote a portion of their income to the further extension of anti-malarial measures. Much has been done to ensure a pure water supply to the villagers; will not the authorities, who are showing much concern for the village folk, from whom after all the bulk of the revenue comes, devote at least a little more money to the eradication of this terrible scourge? Sanitation has always been a difficult problem in India, but some effort towards the improvement of village sanitation has been made.

Much, then, has been done; much remains to be done, but, it would seem, by other hands. The Diwan, Sir V. T. Krisnamachari, has announced his resignation after upwards of seventeen years of office. His abilities have been rather of the solid than the brilliant type. There is hardly a department of State in which his influence has not been felt. He can look back with satisfaction upon his achievements. He had to deal with more than one crisis—notably the floods of 1927, the unrest of 1930, and the coming of this war with all the problems brought in its train. Baroda now is

equipped on modern lines and retains her place in the forefront of Indian States. If there is something to be desired in certain aspects of administration, that is partly at least because the people have not yet learned to co-operate. There seems to be a bright future before her when peace and sanity shall have once more returned to the earth after the nightmare of the last five years.

TURKEY AND EDUCATIONAL REFORM

By E. V. GATENBY

THE White Paper on Educational Reconstruction was translated into Turkish by the British Council and its proposals have aroused much interest among educationists in Ankara and Istanbul.

Some twenty years ago, with the foundation of the Republic, the complex system of schools—public, religious and private—was simplified and brought under Government control. Today, a boy may proceed along a carefully graded course through primary, middle and high schools to the university, all education being free except in a few schools, the Turk Maarif Cemiyeti Lisesi, where a particularly high standard is maintained.

Consequently, the amazing intricacy of our English system is somewhat puzzling to the Turks, some of whom express the opinion that instead of introducing further complications we should seek to unify the various types of school in the different grades, especially the secondary schools; and that in place of so many local authorities, one Government department should be responsible. They perhaps do not realize that over-centralization is more productive of delay than expedition.

Turkey's main problem today is to supply schools, equipment and teachers for all branches of education. It is not so much a change in aims or organization that is needed as a generous increase of the facilities now available, especially for technical studies and the learning of English.

English is now by far the most popular foreign language, and though optional, it is being chosen by increasing numbers of pupils in preference to French or German. There may be political reasons behind this enthusiasm—it has been claimed that General Montgomery at El Alamein filled English language classrooms all over the world—but apart from the prestige which English has gained through victory there is in Turkey a realization that our language will in future be more useful than others in international relations. It is already the world's language for trade, and it is establishing itself as the principal second language in all countries.

On all sides one hears the cry for more teachers—from would-be students of the language, from officials who have to use it, and from the over-worked teachers themselves, some of whom are struggling with as many as eighty pupils in one class. The British Council is doing its best to supply teachers from England who can meet some of the demand in the public classes at the Halkedis; but in Turkey, as in other countries, the great need is for trained and efficient teachers whose native language is that of the country itself. The great bulk of English teaching in the world is done by non-English teachers. Are we doing anything to equip them for their task? If we are sincerely desirous that English should establish itself as the world's second language we shall have to provide training for foreign teachers in England, or send abroad not mere teachers of language, but men capable of giving instruction in linguistic method.

BROADCASTING AND EDUCATION IN INDIA

BY LIEUT.-COLONEL H. R. HARDINGE, I.A. (RETD.)

INDIA has contributed substantially to the Allied cause from her immense potential resources, and from her man power. To meet the demands upon her for the supply of munitions of war, her industries have been developed amazingly. The external debt resulting from vast sums invested in the past from abroad for the development of her railways, roads, canals and other great public works has been more than extinguished by the accumulation of credits on account of supplies made and services rendered since war broke out. This credit balance in her favour presumably will continue to increase as the conflict proceeds. In consequence, it is but natural that there should be enthusiastic planning to spend these accumulating funds for India's social and economic betterment when peace is restored. That some at least of such plans will tend to be over-ambitious, with estimates of initial and recurring expenditure based upon an unduly optimistic outlook, is obvious. Nevertheless, the opportunities afforded for a raising of the standard of living of the Indian peoples are undoubtedly great.

In his first public speech as Viceroy, addressing the Associated Chambers of Commerce at Calcutta on December 20, 1943, and alluding to post-war development, Viscount Wavell expressed the view that social services should be developed in this order: communications, health, education. Undoubtedly the reconditioning of the railways, as regards both permanent way and rolling stock, will be very costly. Enormous sums must be earmarked for the development of roads in the rural areas. Extensions of the telegraph and telephone services will be necessary. Broadcasting essentially comes under the head of communications, and the purpose of this article is to put forward reasons why it should not be regarded as an item of only secondary importance, the development of which can be postponed. In India, broadcasting is capable of becoming a public utility service of immense value in furthering and speeding up the spread of knowledge concerning, for instance, the advantages of better hygiene, and as a substantial aid in raising the standard of education, to an extent that would be impracticable by any other means. It is not necessary that progress in regard to subjects so important as hygiene and education should stand still while communications are being further developed. Whatever else has to wait, education cannot. All progress springs from education, and advantage must be taken of every possible means of raising the standard thereof.

It is a most unfortunate fact that broadcasting is regarded by many as a means of distributing entertainment rather than as a public utility service ranking with those which provide water, gas, electricity and other public requirements. Instrumental and vocal music mean much to the average European; if this were not so, a considerable proportion of the B.B.C. programmes would not be devoted to musical items, since public demand has, in the long run, decided this allocation. The popularity of concerts, musical recitals and operas is further evidence of the fact. Nevertheless, it surely must be admitted that the informative side of broadcasting is vastly important, even when allowance has been made for a comparatively high standard of education in the first place, supplemented in the main by excellent press facilities, telegraph and telephone services, and means of travel, all of which tend to blanket the inherent potentialities of broadcasting in highly developed European countries.

In India, conditions are profoundly different. There is no recorded music, a fact that of itself limits the playing of musical instruments to those very few who have the inclinations and the genius to memorize the score, which, moreover, usually is intricate, and is rendered the more so by the use of intermediate tones. Broadly speaking Eastern musicians are of the itinerant variety, while the artistes who sing are little esteemed by the Indian public in general. While dramas are popular, their scope is limited, and there is no equivalent of the European concert or opera. Add to this fact that Hindu music within hearing of mosque congregations has often

resulted in serious riots, and perhaps sufficient has been said to support the view that music is not, and is unlikely to become, as important a part of the broadcast programmes in India as in Europe.

In *A Report on the Progress of Broadcasting in India up to March 31, 1939* (Government of India Press, Rs. 3 or 5s.), obstacles such as these to the development of the musical part of the broadcast programmes, when the Indian broadcasting services were being reorganized during the period 1935-9, are set out at some length. If Indian broadcasting is to render maximum service to the peoples of India, its principal rôle should be as a distributor of information rather than of entertainment. In India, the informative potentialities of broadcasting are tremendous.

Consider for a moment what are the conditions. With the exception of some 10 per cent. of the total population concentrated in or around the relatively few large cities and towns, who in consequence may be assumed to be reasonably well provided with the means of acquiring education, information and entertainment, and whose conditions of life therefore more nearly approximate to those prevailing in Western countries (with, however, most of the limitations as regards music previously mentioned), the great majority of India's 400 million people are scattered over a vast countryside in 700,000 villages. These villages are reached by cart tracks or *kutchas* roads, are without telegraph or telephone services, and afford facilities for elementary education of the most primitive nature, while the vernacular press and printed matter in general have little scope among a peasantry of whom fully 95 per cent. are entirely illiterate. In such circumstances the standards of education, health, agriculture—everything, in fact, upon which the standard of living depends—cannot be otherwise than primitive. Moreover, superstition and ultra-conservatism bred of ignorance are rampant, handicapping all endeavours to improve such conditions.

One of the schemes to which the writer referred earlier in this article is that designed to raise the standard of elementary education in India to a level comparable with that in Great Britain. The estimated cost of such a scheme is understood to amount to 313 crores of rupees (nearly £235 millions) annually, of which 277 crores (about £208 millions) would probably have to come from public funds. This would be about 50 per cent. more than the total revenues of India, Central and Provincial, for all Government purposes, including the defence of the country, in the years before the war. That any such scheme is wholly impracticable in conditions now existing or likely to prevail for many years to come needs no demonstration. Financial limitations being what they are, it is outside the bounds of practical economy to contemplate the village schoolmaster in no less than 700,000 villages as anything but an extremely poorly paid—and, therefore, an extremely poorly educated—individual. No doubt something can, and should, be done to improve his circumstances and those of the village schools, but for obvious reasons it cannot amount to anything really substantial. Consequently, the most optimistic view possible is that the village schoolmaster may be regarded as an individual capable of assembling and controlling his class and of instructing it in "the three Rs"—reading, writing and simple arithmetic—and no more. How, then, will it be possible materially to raise the standard of elementary education in rural India above the appallingly low level that now prevails?

Does not broadcasting furnish the means? The maintenance at each of the comparatively limited number of broadcasting centres of a staff of properly trained and adequately paid lecturers, in addition to the existing cadre of village schoolmasters, and the provision and maintenance at each village school of a suitable radio receiver, would cost only a small fraction of the sum needed to provide every village with a competent teacher. The members of this staff would have to be selected, and specially trained with a view to their covering the various subjects by means of broadcast talks. Much would depend upon the personality of the lecturer, his voice and delivery, while the talks should be brief and framed with the object of holding the attention of the pupils. The broadcasts to schools in Great Britain, for some years past a feature of the B.B.C. programmes, might serve as a model, but the standard would have to be suited to the prevailing conditions. Some of the talks upon subjects of historical, geographical or topical interest which from time to time are broadcast in the "Children's Hour" are excellent examples of how a great deal of general

knowledge can be "put across" in a manner that excites the interest and imagination of young people, and by creating the demand for more, would encourage the desire for books to read and so counter the tendency at present for so many to relapse into illiteracy through lack of interest.

Is this not only a practicable alternative to the more ambitious and financially impracticable scheme, but also one peculiarly applicable to a country peopled by so great and widely scattered a community, isolated moreover to an extent difficult for the average resident in our highly organized Western countries to visualize? It is not suggested that broadcasting can supplant other methods of spreading information and instruction, but it is considered that there is a good case for its adoption to the greatest extent possible in conditions that render such a service likely to be of inestimable value. It would in fact seem that broadcasting is of value in inverse ratio to the standard of enlightenment existing in any country. If such a contention be accepted, does it not follow that India is one of those countries in which its beneficent possibilities could be very great indeed?

The purely technical side of the subject presents no particular difficulty. How the existing Indian broadcasting system is to be expanded with a view to providing an adequate service to the whole country has already been decided, and such development could proceed as soon as funds for the purpose are made available. For full particulars, reference should be made to the Government of India Report previously quoted. In an article entitled "Broadcasting in India" that appeared in the January, 1944, issue of this journal, the writer has outlined the development of the service up to the outbreak of war, and commented upon the important subject of radio receivers for the rural areas, and in this connection it is encouraging to know that the manufacturers of such apparatus have already given this matter their attention. A broadcasting system, however, is only a means to an end; the main object must be service to the community, and for that to be achieved the Indian broadcast programmes intended for reception in the rural areas must be both entertaining and informative—but it will be upon the quality of the informative part of these programmes that the value of broadcasting as an aid to the advancement of India will depend.

THE JAPANESE "CO-PROSPERITY SPHERE"

BY PAUL EINZIG

How far is Japan justified in describing the territories under Japanese control as the "Greater East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere"? The term implies two things: an increase in prosperity and a participation in that increase by all peoples within the sphere. The first is a question of production, the second is one of distribution. Has the unification of the territories concerned under Japanese rule tended to increase the total value of wealth produced in those territories? And, if so, does the Japanese ruling race allow the subject races to benefit by such an increase in the value of production?

The view is held in some quarters that the Japanese themselves believe in their "co-prosperity" propaganda. "It is deceptive wishful thinking on our part," writes an American author,* if we complacently doubt Tokyo's Great East Asia Co-Prosperity Sphere as pure hypocrisy which cannot take root with the conquered millions of Asia. The Japanese firmly believe in their mission. We say they are

* John Goette, *Japan Fights for Asia* (New York, 1943, p. 143).

frauds, but that does not dilute the fervour with which they make their appeal to fellow-Orientals against us as Occidentals."

* It is, of course, possible that the Japanese have repeated so frequently their propaganda arguments that they have come to believe in them. As for the conquered peoples, however, they should be in a position to judge by their own experience. It is evident from the material of facts available that, generally speaking, production has not benefited by the Japanese rule, and that the distribution of the products of the "Co-Prosperity Sphere" has onesidedly favoured Japan at the expense of the subject races.

The main economic programme of the "Co-Prosperity Sphere" scheme may be summarized as follows:

(1) The political unification of the countries included in the "Co-Prosperity Sphere" has created an economic unit which is largely self-sufficient.

(2) Its degree of self-sufficiency shall be increased by the development of branches of production in which the "Co-Prosperity Sphere" is not yet self-sufficient, and by the reduction of those branches in which there is an unduly large excess over the requirements of the "Co-Prosperity Sphere."

(3) As far as possible industrial production is to be centred within Japan. The subject races shall confine themselves to the production of raw materials and to such secondary industries as are closely associated with their local raw material production.*

It must be admitted that to a very large degree the economies of Japan and of the countries conquered by her are complementary. This is shown by the fact that already before their conquest these countries were trading with Japan to a large and increasing extent. Even in the absence of political and military control over them, Japan was able to unload considerable amounts of her manufactures in the countries that were subsequently to become part of her "Co-Prosperity Sphere." She was also able to buy in those countries a large part of her raw material requirements. For instance, between 1935 and 1939 the whole of the iron ore, bauxite and manganese output of Malaya was exported to Japan.† In the Netherlands Indies Japan's exporters were gaining ground rapidly during the thirties at the expense of the Dutch exporters. Between 1936 and 1940 the quantity of iron ore exported from the Philippines to Japan was more than doubled.‡

The result of the conquest of the countries of the "Co-Prosperity Sphere" has been that their entire raw material output is now at Japan's disposal. From the point of view of self-sufficiency Japan's position is incomparably more favourable than that of Germany, for the latter's "co-prosperity sphere" does not include many of the much-needed raw materials. The countries conquered by Japan, on the other hand, produce most raw materials needed by her. The conquest of the South-West Pacific has certainly solved Japan's problem of oil, rubber, tin, iron ore, sugar, soya beans, etc. On the other hand, the "Co-Prosperity Sphere" is deficient in copper, nickel, wool, cotton, etc.

To a large degree the acquisition of territories specializing in the production of a relatively small number of raw materials resulted in an acute *embarras de richesse*, for the "Co-Prosperity Sphere" can now produce far larger quantities of rubber, tin, tobacco and sugar (to mention only these) than it can consume. In time of peace this would have presented no difficulties, as the rest of the world could easily absorb the surpluses. Since, however, the "Co-Prosperity Sphere" is now practically cut off from the outside world, the Japanese Government decided to reduce the output in the principal products of the South-West Pacific. This war-time measure may have far-reaching repercussions also in time of peace, partly because the damage done to

* Sir Louis Fermor, "Malaya's Mineral Resources in the War" (THE ASIATIC REVIEW, April, 1941, p. 382).

† A more recent version of the "Co-Prosperity Sphere" system aims at the concentration of heavy industries in Japan and the development of other industries in other parts of the "Co-Prosperity Sphere."

‡ Kate L. Mitchell *Industrialization of the Western Pacific* (Institute of Pacific Relations, New York, 1942, p. 233).

productive capacity cannot be repaired overnight, and partly because the rest of the world has developed alternative sources of supplies. This is true especially concerning rubber production.

Efforts are made by the Japanese Government to achieve self-sufficiency in cotton. From 1942 onwards the occupation authorities endeavoured to establish cotton-growing in the Dutch East Indies and the Philippines. The climate of these countries is, however, far from suitable for cotton-growing, which requires not a tropical but a sub-tropical climate. Moreover, the season of the cotton crop coincides with the typhoon season, and violent storms are liable to damage the crops. North China is about the only part of the "Co-Prosperity Sphere" which is suitable for cotton-growing. In other parts of the "Co-Prosperity Sphere" the conversion of sugar-cane plantations into cotton plantations is bound to be a dead loss to the national wealth of the countries concerned.

Under Japanese guidance the coal, iron ore and other mineral resources of the "Co-Prosperity Sphere" are exploited to an increasing extent. The labour required for this purpose is not sufficient, however, to secure the absorption of the millions of hands which have become unemployed as a result of the restriction of production of rubber, tin, sugar and tobacco. For the first time in modern history the South-West Pacific has experienced wholesale unemployment since the Japanese occupation. Less work is done than before the invasion.

The Japanese authorities have also endeavoured to induce the population of the countries of the South-West Pacific to grow their own food instead of importing it. This means that the natives, instead of producing rubber on efficiently run plantations, have become small farmers. Their method of production is necessarily primitive, for Japan is at present unable to provide them with agricultural implements. Instead of benefiting by an increased degree of international division of labour, these countries have been forced to become more autarchic, which certainly does not tend to increase the value of their national production.

A number of industrial undertakings have been created in conquered countries, mainly for the requirements of Japanese war economy. From the point of view of their industrialization it is necessary to discriminate between Manchuria and Northern China on the one hand and the rest of the "Co-Prosperity Sphere" on the other. Presumably because of strategic considerations, Japan considers it safe to locate some of her basic industries on the mainland within easy distance from her shores. On the other hand, she intends to avoid the permanent establishment of strategic industries in more distant parts of the "Co-Prosperity Sphere." The war industries established there are intended to disappear after the war, even though Japan is prepared to allow the development of secondary industries.

Since labour has been switched over from branches of production in which the population has specialized, and which are suitable to local conditions, to new branches considerably less suitable, the chances are that the labour thus diverted is used less economically than it was before the conquest. It seems reasonable to believe, therefore, that the total value of goods produced is now, if anything, lower than it was under the old régime. So much for Japan's claim of creating prosperity in the territories under her control.

This does not mean, of course, that the Japanese people themselves are not better off than they were before the conquest. While at present they have to suffer privations owing to war-time conditions, there are already indications that the Japanese Government intends to provide for a considerable increase in the standard of living in Japan. For one thing, the progress of industrialization in itself tends to achieve that result, especially since Japan will have the means of increasing the discrepancy between manufacture prices and agricultural prices. Japanese industries will be provided with cheap raw materials produced by the subject races. The Japanese nation is intended to be fed at a low cost, thanks to the exploitation of the agricultural labourers in the "Co-Prosperity Sphere."

Needless to say, the higher standard of living of the Japanese workman would inevitably lead to an increase in the cost of production. Japan would no longer be able to flood the world's markets with incredibly cheap goods. As a result it would be necessary for the subject races to export their products outside the "Co-Prosperity

Sphere" in order to provide the foreign exchange to enable Japan to import the goods she requires. The net result will be a further deterioration of the standard of living of the subject races, since the proceeds of their exports would be used for Japan's benefit instead of their own benefit.

Information pouring in from every part of the "Co-Prosperity Sphere" does not in the least bear out the contention that the subject races are in any way impressed by the "co-prosperity" propaganda. It is deeds and not words that count, and in the sphere of deeds Japan has utterly failed to implement her extravagant promises. While under the previous régime the native populations were in a position to buy manufactures, since the advent of the Japanese rule the import of manufactures for civilian requirements has come virtually to a standstill. Admittedly this may be due to a large degree to war-time conditions. Nevertheless, the native populations are only too well aware that they had been better off under the much-maligned rule of Occidentals than they are now.

Since, up to now, the performance of the Japanese ruling race has fallen considerably short of its promise, future prospects are also viewed with profound distrust. The subject races must have realized by now that even if the establishment of the economic unit of Eastern Asia should result in prosperity there would be no question of "co-prosperity." It would be the onesided prosperity of the ruling race secured at the expense of the subject races. And if the standard of living of the ruling race is increased, notwithstanding the decline of the value of goods produced by the subject races, then the latter's fate would be anything but enviable.

Nevertheless, it is advisable to heed Mr. Goette's warning against complacency regarding the influence of the Japanese "co-prosperity" propaganda. The Allied Governments should do their utmost to counteract it, not merely by exposing weak spots of the Japanese claims in their Far Eastern propaganda, but also by putting forward constructive economic programmes for the development of the countries of the South-West Pacific after their liberation from Japanese rule. Even though the Occidental régimes compared favourably with the Japanese régime in those countries, there was everywhere much left to be desired. The publication of detailed economic programmes for after the war, especially concerning the part which native interests are meant to play in those programmes, will go a long way towards making the populations less receptive to Japanese "co-prosperity" propaganda.

THE INDIAN STATES AND THE POST-WAR PLANNING

By R. W. BROCK

POLITICALLY, British India and the Indian States have never seemed further apart. Economically, they have never been closer together. The federal provisions included in the Act of 1935 have given place to the separatist trends, recognized, although not encouraged, by the new enunciation of British policy embodied in the Cripps Declaration. Fortunately, in so far as partition projects are traceable, among the Princes as among the Muslim leaders, to maladroitness Congress tactics, it remains permissible to hope for saner counsels, and a reversion to the impeccable ideal of closer co-operation which British administration and policy have always sought to popularize and promote. As Lord Wavell reaffirmed in his address to the Central Legislature on February 17 last: "You cannot alter geography. From the point of view of defence, of relations with the outside world, of many internal and external economic problems, India is a natural unit."

Geographical propinquity alone, of course, does not ensure political, administra-

tive or economic unity, and, but for British dominance, the sanguinary separatism of Europe might well have been paralleled in India. Such unity, however, having in fact been achieved, the question posed by current discussions in India is whether any net gain would accrue to any community, or to any territorial unit, if the old process of political fragmentation again held sway. Overriding religious and cultural considerations may, in the opinion of its own advocates, place the Pakistan project in a separate category, but certainly, as between the predominantly maritime British India Provinces, and the predominantly landlocked Indian States, the economic factors making for progressive integration would appear, on the long view, to be irresistible. In past decades, as Lord Chelmsford reminded the Chamber of Princes as long ago as 1921, railways, telegraphs, coinage, currency, and industrial development have formed some of the economic reasons why "the relations between the States and the Imperial Government had changed"; and post-war programmes, including such projects as the establishment of an All-India electric unit, the construction of 400,000 miles of new roads, and the wide extension of internal air services, promise to carry this process still further. For all practical purposes, India already represents a single Currency and Customs Union, while the adoption in recent years of Protectionist tariffs, framed primarily in the interests of British India, is tending to make the country also one industrial unit, although the States have not in most cases obtained a proportionate share of the benefits.

An important new factor is the economic planning, in which the Government of India as well as Indian industrialists are now participating, which may well exert a decisive influence, not only on India's domestic politics, but also on her post-war relations with Great Britain. The trend of events is foreshadowed by the appointment of Sir Ardeshir Dalal, one of the signatories of the Tata-Birla or Bombay "Plan of Economic Development for India," as a Member of the Governor-General's Executive Council in charge of the new Department of Planning and Development. I concluded an article on "A Planned Economy for India" in the April issue of the *ASIATIC REVIEW* by giving expression to the widespread feeling that "India's political progress, owing to internal disunity, may tarry. For her economic retardation no excuse is possible." Palpably the Viceroy had long previously reached the same conclusion. Indeed, it may be reasonably inferred, from the above-mentioned appointment as well as from other activities and announcements, that in Lord Wavell's list of priorities Defence ranks as an easy first, Development as a certain second, Politics as a possible third.

Everybody concerned would welcome an early termination of the so-called political deadlock, manufactured and maintained solely by the Congress Party, whose leaders have not yet had the moral courage to renounce a defeated and discredited programme. Meanwhile, however—as that party's principal financial backers clearly agree—the task of economic planning cannot be left in cold storage. It is true that, when drawing up their fifteen-year plan, Sir Ardeshir Dalal and his colleagues proceeded on the assumption that "on the termination of the war or shortly thereafter, a national Government will come into existence at the Centre which will be vested with full freedom in economic matters." But, no less clearly, they prefer not to gamble on the somewhat forlorn hope that this desirable consummation will, in fact, materialize.

In its present form probably even its authors would not claim that the so-called Fifteen-Year Plan is much more than a sketchy outline, and presumably Sir Ardeshir Dalal's essential task will be to develop it—subject to suitable excisions and modifications—into an administrative and economic blue-print capable of being put into operation, with due regard to all the complex financial, economic, and political considerations involved. For example, the Bombay Planners have assumed, somewhat optimistically perhaps, "that the future Government of India will be constituted on a federal basis and that the jurisdiction of the Central Government in economic matters will extend over the whole of India." They also admit that: "The execution of the plan will run counter to many deep-seated prejudices and traditions. In the initial stages it will call for a very large measure of personal discomfort and sacrifice. Political differences may make it difficult to set up the necessary constitutional machinery. The international situation after the war may be such as not to permit of the orderly

continuance of constructive activities on this scale. If difficulties of this character supervene, the progress of the plan will be materially hampered." In view of Congress propaganda, as epitomized in the "Quit India" campaign, it may be permissible to stress that the only important sources from which the Bombay Planners do *not* expect opposition of any kind are Whitehall and Westminster, or even the "City"!

Our Bombay friends have accepted, without reserve, Lord Wavell's assurance, included in his address to the Associated Chambers in Calcutta last December, that before leaving England he "saw some of the leaders of British industry who are interested in India" and "found in them a spirit of most helpful co-operation towards India; there was certainly no desire to dominate or control Indian industry, but a desire to help on a basis of mutual advantage." In that event one hopes that the Indian industrialists who will visit this country in the near future, to discuss post-war plans and possibilities, will be able to confirm this viceregal judgment from their own experience. In British official and industrial circles alike it is fully and freely recognized that the key word in relation to Indo-British economic relations in future years is not so much "restoration" as "reconstruction." It is also felt that the most practical contribution to such "reconstruction" in the immediate post-war years will be the maximum allocation of capital equipment within the shortest possible period required to implement the projects the new Indian Planning and Development Department has been established to evolve. Subject to currency reserve requirements, the liquidation of India's sterling balances can be carried through, on this basis, with equal advantage to both countries. A special Dollar Fund has been established to finance comparable purchases from the United States, and this is an additional justification for utilizing India's sterling funds principally to finance purchases of British manufactures.

It remains to consider the steps which are being taken in India to ensure that the measures of economic reconstruction finally adopted will, as far as possible, apply to the Indian States as fully as to the Provinces in British India. In this field economic federation may well not only precede political federation; it may even prove an essential prelude, carrying to completion the economic fusion already in process, and thereby paving the way for the closer Constitutional relations which, sooner or later, may be expected to follow. Recent difficulties in relation to food production and distribution have emphasized anew the fundamental interdependence of States and Provinces in that field, and it must be added that unless similar difficulties are to recur, continued collaboration will remain essential, not only during the war period, but for many years afterwards. Members of the Reconstruction Committees appointed by the Government of India are virtually unanimous in support of giving all post-war schemes an All-India basis, and there is much to be said in favour of giving the fullest effect to this standpoint, even to the extent of establishing a Federal Economic Planning Board to include representatives nominated by the Chamber of Princes. One inducement to such action is plain. From this period forward, either the Indian States and British India Provinces must draw closer together or they will, inevitably and inexorably, drift further apart. No single influence would be more potent in promoting closer unity than the economic collaboration which the present reconstruction programmes afford such a unique opportunity to facilitate. The States and Provinces, having shared the efforts and vicissitudes of the war years, will find it of even greater mutual advantage to co-operate in solving the equally complex, but more congenial, problems which will dominate the succeeding years of peace. Unless economic planning rests on a federal basis, there is more than a risk of increasing inequality of development, not only as between Provinces and States, but as between the States themselves. As far as possible, development should be concurrent and co-extensive.

As recurring analyses in the *ASIATIC REVIEW* have testified, it is the South Indian States which for many years have acted as pioneers in economic development and sound finance, and it is not an accidental coincidence that the same States have shown a parallel advance in the direction of representative government. A higher level of production and productivity is India's most urgent need, and a sound system of State finance is the essential corollary. No Indian State has a sounder system of

finance than Hyderabad, as testified by the fact that the total assets of H.E.H. the Nizam's Government are more than double the total liabilities. During the last two decades substantial sums have been invested in productive capital undertakings, and further projects are contemplated, the Public Works Member stating recently that "when all our water-power schemes are completed Hyderabad will enjoy a position perhaps second to none on the electrical map of India." In Mysore, a pioneer in the hydro-electric field, the Jog works to generate 150,000 h.p. is going forward, and other schemes of equal magnitude will follow as soon as equipment can be obtained. The Mysore Government have recently established an Industrial Planning and Co-ordination Committee under the chairmanship of the Minister of Industries, which will help to establish new industries. A specially valuable measure recently taken in Mysore has been to provide for a substantial increase in the production of agricultural implements of high standard and at reasonable prices. From Baroda comes the interesting announcement that His Highness the Maharajah has created a fund containing an initial allocation of a crore of rupees, the income from which will be spent on improving the conditions of life of the "merger areas": an opportune reminder of the financial and economic dependence of the minor States on external aid if their development is to keep pace with that of other parts of India.

Whatever may be their present attitude to political federation, there is no reason to assume that the principal Indian States would show any reluctance to play a full part in every form of economic planning, and, in fact, it is worth recalling that it was a former Dewan of Mysore, Sir M. Visvesvaraya, who put forward the first reasoned plea for action on these lines in his volume, *A Planned Economy for India*, published just ten years ahead of the Tata-Birla Report. A great opportunity awaits Sir Ardeshir Dalal to evolve a workable compromise incorporating the best elements of the many official and non-official planning programmes now being put forward.

FOOD SUPPLY POLICY AND MEASURES IN MYSORE STATE

BY A CORRESPONDENT

THE State has a population of about 7½ millions. The most important staple food grain of the people is ragi (*Eleusine corocana*), which is the food of about 70 per cent. of the population—mostly the rural population and labourers in towns and factories. Rice is the next important food grain. Jowar, bajra and other minor grains and pulses are also grown and consumed to a small extent.

The average rainfall in the State is a little over 36 inches. The land tenure is almost entirely ryotwari; and land is held and cultivated by many of small cultivators.

In years of good rainfall Mysore is more or less self-sufficient in respect of millets and has even a small surplus of jowar. But the State has always been deficient in rice. The net deficit has been about 50,000 tons of rice, or 17 per cent. of the rice consumption. This deficit was normally met by import, mostly from Madras.

This shortage is now intensified by two factors. The State has a number of industrial concerns, most of which are engaged in war supply work, employing a large labour force which has to be kept well supplied. There are also a large and growing number of military works and establishments—apart from the Cantonment at Bangalore—and the civil personnel serving in or attached to these have added greatly to the food responsibilities of the State.

The first step in the direction of control was taken on September 7, 1939—four

days after the declaration of war—when the Government constituted a Central Advisory Committee of officials and non-officials for regulating the prices of important commodities like rice, ragi, jola, wheat, etc. This was followed up by the formation of Price Advisory Committees in all the Districts of the State. A Food Grains Control Order was passed in July, 1942. The fixing of prices of essential commodities was centralized and placed in the hands of a Director of Civil Supplies. The Deputy Commissioners (*i.e.*, Collectors) were instructed to purchase and build up reserve stocks of food grains in the Districts.

Owing, however, to the lack of similar price control measures in the neighbouring Provinces, the State became an island of controlled prices, surrounded by uncontrolled markets. This stimulated an abnormal export of grains from the State, and it became necessary to prohibit the export of food grains without a special permit.

In January, 1943, a Conference was held at Bangalore to which the Deputy Commissioners of Districts as well as leading merchants and public men were invited. After that Conference the State was divided into supply and deficit areas, and monthly quotas of food grains to be supplied by the supply districts to the deficit districts were fixed—a kind of basic plan within the State. Grain purchasing officers were appointed in supply areas and provided with necessary funds to make purchases. Large employers of labour, such as mining companies, textile mills and estate owners, were assisted to buy stocks for distribution to their employees. Co-operative societies were given loans and other facilities to enable them to obtain adequate stocks of food grains for sale to the public.

Till the month of April, 1943, the deficit in rice was being partly made up by certain consignments of rice which were being received from Bezwada (Madras Presidency). But, with the introduction of the Government of India's Basic Plan, even these inadequate supplies were suddenly stopped, resulting in a serious deterioration in the food supply position. Meanwhile, with the prevailing shortage and uncertainty, and the high prices that ruled outside the State, a good part of the spring harvest of 1943 had become invisible. Some grain had been smuggled across the frontiers; and it came to notice that many of the licensed merchants had placed their private gain above the public welfare and that a good deal of the grain entrusted to them had disappeared into hoards and black markets. Ragi, the staple grain most largely grown and consumed in the State, had become conspicuous by its absence, and was scarcer even than rice, of which the State was usually more deficient. This pointed to hoarding, as ragi, unlike rice, does not have to pass through a mill and readily lends itself to preservation in pits. It became necessary to adopt more direct and drastic measures to get the grain out of the hoards and make the invisible stocks visible, and to end the profiteering and black market in food grains, by eliminating the grain merchants for the time being.

Side by side with these measures, the Government launched a vigorous "Grow More Food" campaign. Nearly 200,000 acres of new lands have been granted for cultivation, with attractive concessions, and nearly 70,000 additional acres of land have been brought under the plough. An important feature of the campaign was the provision not only of manure and seed, but also of agricultural implements, cart tyres, etc., to *bona-fide* agriculturists at concession rates.

A ban was placed on the over-polishing of rice with a view to conserve the available supply of rice and to improve its nutritive value. All rice mills were licensed and directed to submit accounts of receipt and outturn.

At this time came the disquieting news that the Government of India had decided to embark upon a policy of free trade. Fortunately, however, this decision was short-lived, and in the All-India Conference of July, 1943, the free trade idea was given up, thus providing a welcome endorsement of the food policy and measures adopted by the State.

On August 9, 1943, Government issued an order under the Defence of India Rules, which was intended to be a three-pronged drive to bring hoards and surplus stocks to the physical possession of Government. Its main features were:

(1) Compulsory declaration of stocks by every holder of grain—be he cultivator, merchant, stockist or other person—who was in possession of a stock of grain in excess of a prescribed minimum.

(2) Purchase by Government of all such declared surplus at prices specially raised for a specific period.

(3) Requisitioning of undeclared surpluses, wherever found after the said period.

The declaration was to apply only to such of those as had in their possession stocks of grains exceeding 20 maunds of rice and 30 maunds of millets. The order thus left the smaller stockists out of account. The enhanced prices represented an increase of 33½ per cent. on the prevailing prices in the case of millets, and 25 per cent. in the case of rice, and it was made clear that these enhanced prices were applicable only for a limited period, after which they were to be withdrawn. The orders thus provided an opportunity for every hoarder to become a good citizen, and at a profit. Although fears were felt that the drive might yield only a crop of returns, it did result in bringing to the possession of Government 60,000 tons of food grains, valued at nearly a crore of rupees. Over 16,000 tons of this quantity consisted of ragi—which had so far been so elusive. These stocks came as a welcome emergency reserve, at a time when supplies were getting precariously low, with three or four anxious months to face before the next harvest.

The Government of Mysore was one of the earliest to introduce rationing. Rationing was introduced in Bangalore in January, 1943, and in the Kolar Gold Field a few months later. The City of Mysore will be rationed in a few weeks, and it is expected that very soon every town in the State will also be under a rationing system based on a regular census enumeration of its population. The ration allowed in urban areas has had to be restricted to less than a pound a day. With a view to ensuring equitable distribution with equality of sacrifice between the surplus and the deficit areas, it has been found necessary to introduce a measure of rationing in the rural areas as well.

There are at present over 900 grain depots—urban and rural—for the issue of food grains. Of these, 600 are run by Government and 300 by approved co-operative societies, panchayets, and other bodies. More depots are being opened, particularly in the rural areas. Some of these are itinerant rural depots serving groups of villages by rotation—somewhat like the weekly bazaars or “shandies.” In all these depots the sale prices are prominently displayed, and the poorest come first in the list of those to be served. A definite number of ration cards is allotted to each depot, and overcrowding is avoided by the issue of serially numbered tickets to customers as they come in, and by encouraging queueing. The grains are generally sold at cost, but in many cases, as, for instance, in the case of grain imported from other distant Provinces and States under the Basic Plan, Government bear the loss which represents the difference between the selling rates in the State and the higher prices at which the grain is imported.

Realizing that even a single death due to starvation—whether from failure of procurement or of distribution or other cause—would be a blot on the administration, a number of free kitchens have been opened, particularly in areas of scarcity, where cooked food is served to the poorest of the population to whom special cards are issued by committees selected for their local knowledge and philanthropy. An inspiring lead in this direction has been given by His Highness the Maharaja, who has made a generous grant for the free feeding of all the poor in the capital City of Mysore.

In addition to the supplies of food grains made on ration cards, other articles of food such as ground-nuts, fried gram, and potatoes are arranged to be sold in the depots. These supplies of the ration are meant to act as a safety valve in the event of a temporary hitch or breakdown in the regular supply system.

A Transport Board has been constituted, with the Minister for Supplies as Chairman, and with the Director of Civil Supplies and representatives of the local railway and the Madras and Southern Mahratta Railway among its members. A special officer has also been appointed to co-ordinate movement and transport and to assist in the speedy despatch and clearance of food supplies.

To augment the available transport facilities, Government have arranged to build a large number of bullock carts for being handed over to cultivators and transport agencies on suitable terms.

With a view to enlist the co-operation and assistance of leading non-officials and public men, food councils have been constituted in the State—a Central Food Council,

District Councils and Taluk Councils. These Councils consist of representatives of producers, merchants and consumers as well as members of the two Houses of Legislature, and retired officials. In addition to these Councils, a large number of non-officials and retired officials have been appointed honorary food wardens to assist in running the numerous distribution depots and in removing local defects and difficulties that may arise.

The Government have taken steps to see that no part of the marketable surplus of the next harvest is allowed to go underground or to disappear into hoards and black markets. To this end they have decided to purchase the surplus of the harvest of all holdings which are calculated to be above the sub-economic or deficit level. All holders of non-deficit holdings are compelled to sell to Government the surplus produce from their holdings over and above the reasonable needs of their families and their dependents as well as their seed requirements. The prices at which the grains are to be purchased have been fixed with due regard to the present cost of living and the increased costs of cultivation, particularly of marginal lands. An important feature of the scheme is the provision to receive payment of land revenue in kind, in respect of lands that grow food crops. This, by itself, is expected to bring in a crore of rupees' worth of food grains into the hands of Government.

The grain acquired under the scheme will be stored in local purchase depots or left in the custody of the sellers themselves, in suitable cases, with proper safeguards; and only the surplus above the needs of each area is to be moved to the urban and other areas in deficit. The mopping up and taking over of this surplus is expected to reduce, if not altogether to extinguish, smuggling and black-marketing activities by taking away their stock-in-trade; and the possession of this large stock of food grains by the Government is expected to act as a steadying influence on price-levels. With practically the whole of the surplus stock in the physical possession of Government and an efficient and leak-proof system of rationing in urban and rural areas, it is proposed to bring in and make use of the experience and resources of grain merchants in the handling and distribution of food grains to the public but under strictly controlled conditions.

REVIEWS OF BOOKS

ISLAM TODAY. By A. J. Arberry and Rom Landau. (*Faber and Faber.*)

(*Reviewed by* L. F. RUSHBROOK WILLIAMS, C.B.E.)

This working partnership, between a distinguished Orientalist and an equally distinguished student of comparative religions with first-hand knowledge of the Islamic world, has produced a notable book, for which the demand is likely to be considerable. No single scholar could hope to cover, with anything like the necessary accuracy, the present condition of the different components of Islam today; and the authors have wisely drawn upon the knowledge of specialists. Of these there is an impressive collection, upon which the younger generation of British Orientalists—Freya Stark, Ann Lambton, Stewart Perowne—are well represented. Their contributions are brilliant, suffering nothing by comparison with the work of veterans like Sir Richard Winstedt, Sir Percy Sykes, and Sir Richmond Palmer.

The method of the authors in approaching their task has the merit of simplicity. They have been concerned to discover the best available authority, whether British or foreign, upon each Islamic region, and to allow him or her freedom to deal with what was doubtless a meticulously careful list of "editorial" desiderata. The volume as a whole shows internal evidence of very careful editing, but the authors have

scrupulously avoided all temptation to interpose their own views and opinions between the reader and the acknowledged authority on a particular country. Such editorial self-sacrifice cannot fail to commend itself to many of those for whom the book is intended. Others, on the same score, will regret that two authors whose scholarship and experience supplement each other so admirably should not have passed the invaluable material contained in the individual contributions through the fine mesh-work of their own minds and presented to the reader a *summa*, after the fashion of the schoolmen.

I think that the answer to this latter criticism is not difficult. Valuable as are the chapters in this work, they do not (nor, in war-time, could they) constitute a complete survey of the Islamic world. There are important gaps. In the Balkans, where Muslims number between three and four millions, their present situation remains obscure. Far more serious are the blanks represented by the Muslims of the U.S.S.R., numbering, it is believed, about 25 millions; and of China, probably at least as numerous. Nor was it found practicable to include important "pockets" in the French and Portuguese colonial territories. Apart from these omissions, inevitable from the dearth of suitable specialists to treat of them, Turkey has been excluded (in my view, rightly) by the deliberate judgment of the authors. The result of this is that, while *Islam Today* contains a wealth of information about many parts (and those, perhaps, the most advanced and "leader-like" of the Islamic world), it does not contain such a comprehensive picture of Islam in its totality as would alone provide justification for the enunciation of clear-cut conclusions by the two authors. My own feeling is that they are very conscious of the limitations imposed by the present condition of the world, and that they have deliberately concluded that their best contribution to the advancement of learning in their chosen sphere is to assemble the best specialists, and to allow the resultant evidence to speak for itself without claiming for it a universality which it cannot possess.

But when this limitation has been admitted, the most captious critic should be more than contented with the number and excellence of the individual contributions. These are grouped under two main headings; entitled respectively the Arab and the non-Arab countries—an arrangement which has the advantage of clarity as well as of logic. For in fact it would be idle to deny that those fountains from which Islam derives its fundamental strength do run most strongly and most swiftly in the lands peopled by the race which first heard the Prophet's words.

The first heading begins, appropriately enough, with Mr. Stewart Perowne's chapter on Aden, which consists of a careful and scholarly narrative tracing the history of the colony and protectorate from early days to the present time. Mr. Perowne notes particularly the happiness of the association between Arabs and British which is largely responsible for the general prosperity; and stresses the enterprise with which the former have taken full advantage of Britain's command of the sea—a good augury for the future. Next we have an admirable character study of King Ibn Saud by Mr. Rom Landau, one of the few travellers who is competent to assess the moral as well as the material contribution which that great monarch has made to the well-being both of his own people and of Islam as a whole. Miss Freda Stark treats of Iraq with the charm and accuracy characteristic of all her work; and she is followed by a penetrating analysis of Islam in Syria by a scholar who cloaks his personality under the pseudonym of "Meleager." Sir Arthur Wauchope's chapter on Palestine and Transjordan is conspicuous for the fairness with which he sets out local difficulties and arranges many problems in their proper perspective. Next comes one of the most distinguished contributions in the book—Dr. Taha Husain's essay on modern Egypt. No one living is better fitted to expound the part which Egypt has played in the past and is playing in the present, the world of Islam; and his forecast of the future, if cautiously optimistic, is both wise and penetrating. Mr. Hillelson treats of the Sudan with the sympathy and knowledge born of a lifetime of intimacy, and his passages on the outlook of the younger generation deserve particular notice. Less familiar and therefore doubly welcome to many students is the account, immediately following, of conditions in Libya, which is the work of Mr. Schonfield. His estimate of the achievements of the shortlived Italian régime is very much to the point today. Islam in East Africa is described by William Hichens, whose balanced

account of the operation, in practice, of the institution of slavery deserves careful study. Sir Richmond Palmer treats of Islam in the Western Sudan and on the west coast of Africa, paying tribute to the great work of the Islamic missionaries, and stressing the responsibility which their success now places upon Islam for the future progress of these regions. Finally, the survey of the Arab countries concludes with two chapters on French North Africa, Henry Davray dealing with Algeria and Tunisia, and C. W. Procter with Morocco. These, while adequate, are perhaps less impressive than the importance of their subjects might seem to warrant.

First in the second category—non-Arab countries—comes Persia, on which Miss Ann Lambton has written one of the most brilliant chapters in the book. Her tracing of the impact of Islam upon various aspects of Persian life is illuminating; and she brings out clearly the apparent antithesis between the universalism of the Islamic heritage and the nationalist tendencies which characterize many manifestations of the modern spirit. By a natural transition the reader now moves eastwards to Afghanistan, which is most sympathetically handled by Sir Percy Sykes. His chapter is an exceptionally sound piece of history which should be studied for the excellence of its perspective even by those already familiar with the facts of which he treats. Of Islam in India Sir Hassan Suhrawardy writes ardently and without fear, confident in the bright future of his community and of their growing sense of kinship with their co-religionists the world over. The last chapter of the book—and in some respects perhaps the most illuminating—is Sir Richard Winstedt's account of Malaysia. In successive sections he writes of Netherlands India and of Malaya proper. No other authority could, I think, have treated the work of Islam in these areas with such knowledge and clarity.

Dr. Arberry and Mr. Landau are to be congratulated upon an important contribution to our knowledge of Islam today. The photographs which illustrate the book are admirable.

INDIA IN OUTLINE. By Lady Hartog. (*Cambridge University Press.*) 6s.

(Reviewed by MILLIE GRAHAM POLAK.)

In handy and very readable form Lady Hartog's is one of the most valuable little books on India which have been published in recent years. It covers a wide field and is couched in a direct, almost terse, style, full of statements of fact, but never lacking in the human presentation relating statements to people.

The geography of India, the invasions of many peoples at different periods of its history, with the intermingling of their cultures, developments of various systems of social and religious life and their interactions, caste and the good and evil which attend it, are all dealt with in the earlier chapters.

The story of how a large part of the Indian sub-continent became a part of the British Empire and how Britain has sought to deal with the many complicated problems arising therefrom, the introduction and stabilization of orderly government without undue interference with the intrinsic life of India itself, provides most interesting and informative reading for the uninitiated.

Few people outside the students of Indian affairs realize how large parts of India, whilst being in treaty alliance with Britain, yet form independent States, whose peoples are not even today British subjects, and whose rulers retain sovereign rights within their own territories. The chapter dealing with the States gives a brief survey of their origin, peoples, and systems of life and development, and presents them as living and, in the case of the largest and most important, as progressive entities instead of lumping them together as a barbaric but picturesque whole.

The later chapters on India's war effort, the birth and development of its factories, and the enormous strides which have been made in recent years in its industrial life will be an eye-opener to many. One realizes the great potentialities of this vast country both now and in the years following the cessation of hostilities. The awakening of the East, to which so many have been so blind for so long, is a very momentous thing.

India's political life, with some of its outstanding leaders and the causes which

have largely contributed to the present unhappy relations between Britain and India and between the Indian political parties, brings the book right up to date.

All of this needs to be told in language which can be understood by the average intelligent citizen, who, whilst often tempted to criticize Britain's position in India, has no useful solution to offer of a very complex issue and has neither time nor inclination for a serious study of the subject. Those who speak in public on India and her affairs have long realized how profound is the ignorance of most British people on these and other problems of India, and Lady Hartog has rendered them, as well as the even less well-informed American critics of Indo-British relations, a very valuable service in her small book.

The illustrations are good and excellently reproduced. They help to bring India's peoples nearer to the general reader.

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- (1) TIBETAN WORD BOOK. By Sir Basil Gould, C.M.G., C.I.E., and Hugh Edward Richardson. With a Foreword by Sir Aurel Stein. Pp. xvi + 447. (*Oxford University Press, Indian Branch.*) 1943.
 - (2) TIBETAN SYLLABLES. By Sir Basil Gould and Hugh Edward Richardson. Pp. x + 120. (*Oxford University Press, Indian Branch.*) 1943.
 - (3) TIBETAN SENTENCES. By Sir Basil Gould and Hugh Edward Richardson. Pp. v + 137. (*Oxford University Press, Indian Branch.*) 1943.

(Reviewed by DR. W. SIMON.)

The three books mentioned above bear witness to the great effort made on the part of the authors to facilitate the study of colloquial Tibetan.

The most important of them is the *Word Book*. The authors limited themselves to 2,000 headings, which they call "syllables" because, in ordinary speech, many of them occur only as elements of compounds or with the addition of suffixes. Students are warned by an asterisk against misusing the latter kind of entries (though they may be surprised to find the English meaning asterisked instead of the Tibetan heading). Each heading (numbered 2-3,950, with odd numbers left out so as to allow for future additions) has been beautifully written in Tibetan script, is preceded by an indication of its pronunciation and followed by a transliteration of the Tibetan letters, and an English translation. The compounds given under each heading are again first written in Tibetan script. The elements other than the heading are referred to by figures. Then the compound is rendered into English and followed by an indication of its pronunciation. Compounds used only in polite speech are marked by (II.) as "honorifics."

Students who do not go in for the Tibetan script are enabled to make use of the *Word Book* by means of the *Tibetan Syllables*. These are arranged according to the English alphabet and have cross-references to the figures of the *Word Book*. In addition, the *Syllables* may be helpful for learning and repeating the nucleus of 2,000 words (or word elements).

The word material of the *Tibetan Sentences* is limited to 800 words, chosen from the 2,000 of the *Word Book*. These are presented in easy sentences, which in part form short dialogues.

The main importance of the *Word Book* may be seen in the fact that it includes colloquial material only. This goal was within easier reach than it might have otherwise been, because of the limited number of elements. Nevertheless, the authors might have justly claimed to have written the first—though necessarily incomplete—Tibetan-English Dictionary that is entirely colloquial. Most students would have wished a more accurate rendering of the actual pronunciation. For the Lhasa dialect, Professor Y. R. Chao (Jaw Yuanren), now at Harvard University, made a survey of all its sounds and tones, adding a transcription both into the I(nternational) P(honetic) A(lphabet) and into the ordinary Latin script, in the *Love Songs of the Sixth Dalai Lama*, which were edited and translated by Mr. Yu Dawchuyuan, now at the School of Oriental Studies, London. The book was published in 1930 in Peking as a "Monograph of the National Research Institute of History and Philology of the

Academia Sinica" (Series A, No. 5). The tones, which unfortunately are not indicated at all in the three books under review, appear in two different ways in Professor Chao's transcription. In the transcription into the I.P.A. they are indicated after each word; in his system of Latin script he includes the Tibetan tones in the spelling, much as this has been done in the "Official Chinese Latin Script" (*Gwoyen Romatzyh*), that owes most to his suggestions.

It is intended to record part of the *Tibetan Sentences*. This will greatly enhance their usefulness. Students who have the possibility of working with a native teacher will find them very helpful even without the records. What may be called the "mechanism of the language" would have become more lucid if sentences of similar structure had been kept more closely together. To give one example, on the first page the student learns the Tibetan equivalents for "Come," "Come here," "Come quickly." This is followed by a sentence "Bring the book quickly." He will then naturally like to know how to say "Bring it" and "Bring (it) here." But "Bring it" does not occur before p. 39 (or 43), and "Bring (them) here" only on p. 56. Furthermore, the Tibetan equivalent for a key sentence so important for the beginner as "What is this?" is given as late as on p. 94. If the authors cannot rearrange their sentences altogether, they could perhaps number them and then refer students to what is similar from the point of view of structure.

The authors and the publishers certainly deserve the thanks of all students of colloquial Tibetan for the work they have done so far. Should the *Word Book* develop into what it seems to be predestined to become—i.e., a "Thesaurus of Colloquial Tibetan," we may welcome in it already now something that will be of paramount importance to Tibetology.

PARLIAMENTARY GOVERNMENT IN INDIA. By Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy, K.C.I.E.L.
(Calcutta: *Thacker Spink and Co.*)

(Reviewed by SIR VERNON DAWSON, K.C.I.E.)

This book inevitably challenges comparison with Parts I and II of Professor Coupland's *Report on the Constitutional Problem in India*. Both books were published about the same time and the subject-matter and general plan of both are very similar. It might well be argued that Professor Coupland's masterly treatment of his theme left little or nothing more that could usefully be said about it. On the other hand, there should still be scope for a dispassionate and objective study of the Indian political problem by an Indian observer with first-hand political and administrative experience. According to his preface Sir Bijoy Prasad Singh Roy set out to produce such a study: but his performance falls short of his promise.

There was little fresh that could be said in the "historical introduction" covering the years 1857 to 1930, which occupies a quarter of the book. The successive stages in the progress of India towards responsible government have been written and rewritten to satiety in the past twenty-five years. This version is on the whole fair and well-balanced. The second chapter, dealing with India and the British Commonwealth, though somewhat formless and discursive, is in some ways the most interesting in the book. It contains, however, some confused thinking around the thesis of the Non-Party Leaders' Conference (for which Sir Bijoy, as a prominent member of the National Liberal Federation, feels a natural tenderness) that what is needed to set India on the right road to Dominion Status is to make her Government "responsible to the Crown," and thereby to eliminate the control of His Majesty's Government and Parliament in the United Kingdom. The very misleading expression just quoted seems likely to become yet another of the many catchwords which have always sprung up in the soil of Indian constitutional controversy. In a sense, of course, every one of His Majesty's Governments throughout the Empire, whatever its character, is "responsible to the Crown": they could not otherwise be the King's Governments. But it is dangerous heresy to suggest that an Executive can properly be responsible to the Crown alone. In his search for Sir T. B. Saprú's meaning in

using the expression "responsible to the Crown" Professor Coupland is charitable enough to suppose that its author could not have meant to postulate for the King his personal intervention in Indian politics: but unless the expression was intended to mean "responsible to the Crown alone" it is difficult to attach any meaning to it other than the platitudinous one just indicated.

It is in this section of his book that Sir Bijoy Prasad falls most conspicuously short of his aim of objectivity and avoidance of personal bias. Though he finds no difficulty in stating fully, fairly and dispassionately the conflicting aims and views of Indian, including Muslim, politicians, he adopts the traditional approach of his compatriots towards the case for the British Government; and in his account of the development of the present impasse he is as blind as the rest of them to the fact that it was impossible to meet, through the Cripps negotiations, the demands made by the Congress, or even by the National Liberal Federation, to replace the Government's offer, and to the reasons why it was impossible. Thus, one hardly expects to find solemnly set out in a work of this character by a public man of Sir Bijoy Prasad's experience and intelligence the stereotyped conclusion that "the refusal of the British Government to accept the scheme bears testimony to the ascendancy of reactionaries in British politics." The scheme in question is that fathered by Sir T. B. Sapru and the so-called Non-Party Conference, which, according to Sir Bijoy, was in effect backed by the Congress and thus "assumed the character of a national demand," in spite of the fact that the Muslim League would have nothing to do with it.

In his account of responsible government in the Provinces Sir Bijoy Prasad is a safer guide to what actually happened than to the theories and understandings underlying British Cabinet government, though his views on the latter are evidently the fruit of a good deal of study. His account of the working of responsible government in Bengal, as might be expected, sheds light on episodes some of which are perhaps best left veiled in decent obscurity. It also demonstrates in the clearest possible light and rightly emphasizes the wide gulf separating "responsible government" as practised by the Congress through its local agents, the Congress Ministers, and "responsible government" as understood in this country and as intended by the Act of 1935. In another chapter entitled "The Party System" the author admits that the term "party" is a misnomer for the Indian organizations so called, since they bear little or no resemblance to political parties elsewhere. In this he discusses the aims and characteristics of the Swaraj Party, the Congress Party, the Forward Bloc, the Liberal Party, the Justice Party (Madras), the Unionist Party (Punjab), the Moslem League, the Azad Moslem Board and the Hindu Mahasabha. Here again a detailed section on Bengali politics throws much light on permutations and combinations under hastily invented "Party" labels in that Province. The book closes with an interesting and successful attempt to explain and assess impartially the merits of, the point of view, and the aims and difficulties of the Muslims.

The text of the book contains a large number of sentences or parts of sentences which, appearing within inverted commas, are presumably quotations from other writers. In a very small proportion of them, however, is any indication given of their source or authorship.

THIRTEEN POLISH PSALMS. By Alexandra Janta. Translated by Sophie Hinska. London. 1944.

(Reviewed by STANLEY RICE.)

It seems indecent, almost a sacrilege, to try to criticize the outpourings of a wounded spirit, crushed and bruised by the humiliation and oppression of his native land. For if this language sounds a little melodramatic, that is in fact what these Psalms are. They were written by a Pole, partly in a German prison camp and partly in a French hospital. As might be expected, they are all exceedingly gloomy except perhaps the last, "The Psalm of Home-coming," in which the writer looks forward to the deliverance of Poland from the enemy. Yet even more he laments that

they will not be there to greet us—presumably that vast army which has laid down its life for the country. Nevertheless there is a gleam of hope—"Bells will ring again and our banners will raise their heads, but before it happens all that is against the future must be destroyed."

The Psalms are modelled on the Hebrew pattern, but there is no attempt to imitate them. There is no antiphonal iteration such as we find in the Hebrew and the richness of diction in Banting. Perhaps the most poignant verse in the whole collection is that which declares that "gladness dwelt within us; now even children know not what it is."

The translation is very well done with the exception of a few mistakes. The translator uses the word "aquest," meaning "acquisition." It is not a word I have ever seen before and I doubt whether it is English. However, one or two small blemishes of this sort do not spoil the translation as a whole.

RETREAT IN THE EAST. By O. D. Gallagher. (*Harrap.*) 8s. 6d. net.

(Reviewed by EDWIN HAWARD.)

The fundamental reasons for the disasters in the Far East do not appear to have emerged from such research as the exuberant author thought fit to conduct in the course of a filibustering tour. He finds at hand a scapegoat in a monstrosity whom he labels "Burra Sahib," and on whom he pours the vials of his jejune satire. It is unfortunate that so poor a use has been made of opportunities which were exceptionally good, for the gift of vivid reporting is apparent. At times it is well employed in testifying to the gallantry of troops of all Services, but even then curious inhibitions seem to impel the narrator to extol undoubtedly fine performances at the expense of others which have gone unnoticed or received less tribute than justice would dictate. Complacency in this war has not been the monopoly of any one community. It has not been accurately assessed by Mr. Gallagher, whose sense of values is amazingly agile. Perhaps he may like to hear a story. There were two professional men in Rangoon who found themselves alone in their work after the trouble came. Over military age, they could have left without difficulty. They pooled resources and put their expert services at the disposal of the community, civilian and military, and actually took over the work of official practitioners who were otherwise engaged. One of them, without advertising it to Mr. Gallagher or anyone else, made it his duty to see that the fighting men were made as comfortable as possible, and stayed behind until the retreat had started. He left Rangoon after duty had carried Mr. Gallagher to Upper Burma. Yet this elderly "Burra Sahib"—as Mr. Gallagher would blithely call him—had seen his life's work and its material profits swept away by the cataclysm which no foresight or provision on his part could have averted. In his Preface Mr. Gallagher says that, in spite of a diligent striving after accuracy, he has been "guilty of a number of errors of fact." He is telling us!

PRE-PEARL-HARBOUR RETROSPECT

[The two books reviewed here were published before Pearl Harbour, and make interesting reading in view of subsequent events.]

AUSTRALIA'S INTERESTS AND POLICIES IN THE FAR EAST. By Jack Shepherd. I.P.R. Inquiry Series. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 10s. net.

NEW ZEALAND'S INTERESTS AND POLICIES IN THE FAR EAST. By Ian F. G. Milner. I.P.R. Inquiry Service. (*Allen and Unwin.*) 5s. net.

Although members of the British Commonwealth and British countries by blood and tradition, Australia and New Zealand are geographically neighbours of the Far East and therefore cannot fail to be vitally affected by the course of events in that quarter of the world. They are primarily Pacific

Powers, and, as such had interests and consequent policies in regard to East Asia, which were not necessarily identical with those of Great Britain. It is therefore essential to have a clear grasp of what those interests and policies are, and Mr. Shepherd and Mr. Milner have done a service and filled a gap in presenting, in a succinct, clear and well-documented form, the growth and character of the relations and attitudes to the Far East in their respective countries.

As these studies, and particularly that of Mr. Milner, do not fail to show, there were dissimilarities between the policies of the two countries with respect to the Far East. Australia was the earlier to develop a consciousness of Asia, in part fearing it as a potential menace, in part looking to it with hope as a future market for her primary products. The possibility of Japanese economic penetration and military conquest became a live factor in Australian politics after the Sino-Japanese War of 1894-5; at the same time Australian-Japanese commercial relations began to grow, despite the mainly unfavourable Australian reception of the Anglo-Japanese Commercial Treaty of 1894. Japan rose in importance as a market for Australian wool and wheat and as a supplier of manufactured goods, a development which reached its height during 1930-35. In 1936, however, the Australian trade diversion policy, born of a variety of motives, but chiefly that of retaining the still first-ranking British market, precipitated a trade war with Japan, which caused that country to look for home substitutes for wool, as well as for alternative sources of supply. The lessons in trade control which Japan learned in consequence of this Australian policy she has since applied over a wide field as part of her system of war time economic controls, while, on the Australian side, the growth of a defence programme, accompanied by closer inter-imperial economic relations, had, even before the outbreak of the European War, operated to weaken the economic ties between Japan and Australia and strengthen those between Australia and Great Britain.

New Zealand, more remote from the Far East, was until recently less aware of it as a political problem and, depending almost entirely on the British market, developed no economic relations with Japan which could compare in importance with those between that country and Australia. Consequently, New Zealand, until 1935, was largely content to leave Far Eastern policy, in common with general foreign affairs, to London. Since 1935, however, New Zealand press and public opinion has been somewhat more critical in attitude to British Far Eastern policy, especially in so far as it tended to give way to Japanese aggression.

The similarities between Australian and New Zealand interests and policies appear more fundamental and striking than the divergencies. Both countries, as a result of Chinese immigration to the goldfields, were early imbued with a fear that Asiatic immigration might occur on a scale which would threaten both their political independence and the economic and social living standards of which they are justly proud; for both, therefore, their preservation as white countries is the most fundamental principle of policy. As small Pacific Powers, both have done their utmost to prevent any strong and possibly hostile Power acquiring a foothold near their shores, hence their resolute attitude on the Pacific mandates question at Versailles. Finally, both felt increasingly insecure in consequence of the breakdown of the League of Nations and of the Washington Treaties, and, while strengthening their own industrial and military resources as a means to self protection in view of Britain's absorption in Europe, came to look to Washington as a possible source of aid in time of peril.

The views expressed in these pages must be taken as those of the individual contributors. THE ASIATIC REVIEW does not hold itself responsible for them.

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